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VOLUME [illegible] NUMBER 3

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NOTES AND CO[illegible]

BOOK REVIEWS

Schulz[illegible] Co[illegible] Frontier of the United States; [illegible] Pueblo; Ca[illegible] Fray [illegible] Spanish Missouri; Gal[illegible] Florida; Amer[illegible] Spanish 1806; Ch[illegible] Arizona; [illegible] Stockman; Co[illegible]

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MID-AMERICA

*An Historical Review*

APRIL, 1938

VOLUME 20 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 9 NUMBER 2

# The Chronicle of Perez de Ribas

About five years ago while working on the history of the Jesuits in New Spain, the writer had frequent occasion to refer particularly to the pages of Father Francisco Javier Alegre's chronological account, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España.*[1] Alegre at times cited Padre Andrés Pérez de Ribas as his authority for statements. This was not startling in view of the prolific writing of Andrés Pérez, who had published his *Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee* in Madrid in 1645, and had prepared a manuscript history of Sinaloa.[2] But a closer inspection of the references revealed that Alegre was making a distinction between these works and another manuscript of Ribas.[3] Definite statements regarding the existence of the manuscript chronicle were made after the time of Alegre by other historians.[4] A search for the original was carried on in California and Mexico, and quite by chance the discovery was made that the manuscript had been printed and bound in a private edition at the Jesuit Press of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Mexico City in 1896 under its original title, *Corónica y Historia*

[1] Alegre's three volumes were published in Mexico in 1841 and 1842. He was chronicling the year 1763, when his writing stopped with an unfinished sentence. He was exiled in June, 1767, with the other Jesuits and went to Italy, but later returned to his native Mexico for pastoral work as a diocesan priest in Puebla.

[2] Peter M. Dunne, "The Literature of the Jesuits of New Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review,* XX (October, 1934), 254.

[3] Alegre, II, 109, 152.

[4] José Mariano Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional,* Mexico, 1821, III, 28-29; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* San Francisco, 1886, I, 236, does not mention the title of the chronicle history; Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Campagnie de Jésus,* Paris, 1895, VI, 526, mentions it as defective and in the possession of Dr. José María de Agreda y Sánchez of Mexico; Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España,* Madrid, 1913, IV, describes the printed work, but says it was from the only existing defective manuscript; Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico,* El Paso, Texas, 1928, in Volumes II and III, cites the work *passim.*

*de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Mexico en Nueva España.*

From the few words of introduction in the printed volumes, however, it is clear that the printing was made from a transcript of the original manuscript, made by different copyists. This copy had been the property of Father Pichardo of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in Mexico City, but at the time of publication it was owned by a lady who graciously turned it over to the anonymous editor. The editor, probably a Jesuit, encountered no end of trouble in his work. His tribulations revolved around words omitted by the copyists, truncated Latin texts from Scripture, and an anarchy of punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing. His task was excellently achieved, and although the type employed was not the best, he could rest satisfied that a monumental writing had been preserved. Little did he suspect that the entire manuscript was in existence. His lament was expressed over the omission by the copyists of certain chapters of the original, but because the table of contents was intact, he was able to indicate the missing parts by asterisks in the published work.

The discovery of the printed *Corónica* was quite a boon, yet there remained annoying questions. Where is the original? Where are the missing parts? Are there other copies? The happy solution of the problem was revealed when the Newberry Library published *A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection.*[5] The manuscript in the vaults, listed as number 1196, is a copy of the Ribas Corónica, and this copy was taken from the original, to all appearances, which is in the Library of Congress.[6] Thus ends a long search.

A likely reason why the original manuscript was deemed sufficiently valuable for acquisition by the Library of Congress is amply set forth in a descriptive letter of recommendation, which, as it will in all probability never be printed elsewhere, is hereafter presented, not for the purpose of exposing the amusing and inaccurate account of the position of the Jesuits in relation to the Spanish government, but rather to show the sincerity and enthusiasm exhibited by a manuscript copyist for a great docu-

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[5] Compiled by Ruth Lapham Butler, Chicago, 1937.

[6] *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress,* Washington, 1918, 261, lists the Corónica under Transcripts, and mentions in the following item a Force transcript of the same. Reason for terming the Library of Congress manuscript the original will appear at the end of this article.

mentary find. The writer, as will be explained later, was a certain L. F. Tasistro.

In the whole range of historical information whether published or in manuscript, it is doubtful whether a more deeply interesting or a more intensely valuable work can be found than this extraordinary narrative of the first introduction of Jesuitical Colleges on this Continent and the wonderful influence they exercised in imparting to the popular mind of New Spain that aversion for free institutions which renders their republican system so defective and imperfect even to the present day. It is not only, what it ostensibly professes to be a religious history of the Company of Jesus, from the first landing of the primitive Fathers in Vera Cruz in 1572, down to the time when their influence had extended over every inch of Spanish territory including all the islands of the Pacific, but it is *bona fide* the history of the Spanish colonization of Mexico, and throws more light on the early systems of Legislation in that country and the various processes by which the aborigines of the soil were finally argued into submission, than any of the published accounts with which the art of printing has made us acquainted. For although New Spain was settled 50 years before the foundation of the Society of Jesus by Loyola, yet the mind of the colonists never received any salutary or progressive impulses until the emissaries of the Sacred College at Rome had preached their fascinating doctrine among them and set the spring of popular instruction in motion. From these Chronicles which are extremely well written and admirably well preserved, and which contain besides the historical matter many exquisite biographies of the most learned and most useful men of that period, we learn all that is most important for us to know in regard to the peculiar agencies that were employed in keeping the element of political ameliorations within specified bounds. Anticipating no doubt, that the isolated position of these colonies would naturally lead men to speculate freely on the destinies of the human races, the Government of Spain thought it advisable to apply preservative remedies at once and in order to accomplish that object, it not only sought to enlist the energies of those splendid religious enthusiasts, who had astounded the Christian world by their piety, devotion, and learning, but actually placed the affairs of government almost entirely under their control by the bestowal of the most extravagant privileges, so that in very short time they became *de facto* the supreme rulers of the land. The national education was entrusted to their care, and this authority was acknowledged by both the Statesmen and the Military leaders as the fountainhead from which all laws and enactments must emanate. Among the most important facts to be gathered by a careful perusal of these Chronicles is the ingenuity with which the fathers of the Church managed on all occasions in their writing, in the pulpit, and in the school-room to pervert the sense of certain scriptural passages when their object was to produce testamentary evidence against the monstrous idea of self-government, which they represented as antagonistical of Christian faith and criminally at variance with the obligations of religious and moral law. As their colleges sprung up like enchanted palaces in every province of New Spain, these pernicious doctrines spread like pestilence all over the land until the popular mind became unfit for the reception of liberal ideas

**and the cultivation of elevated sentiments. What is of no less importance in this work, is the perfect truthfulness of spirit in which every part of it was evidently [written] and the reliable nature of its details. Never having been intended for publication, or even for the gaze of vulgar eyes, the authors [sic] wrote without restraint and without reservation and omitted nothing that could in any way elucidate the history of this order [word obscure] the extraordinary and eventful career in Mexico. As a work which may be of immense importance to the Government of the United States here, as containing ample material for a philosophical history, and being diversified with grafic description of every province of Mexico, at the period preceding the arrival of the Jesuits at each point, it is respectfully submitted that a translation of the same be secured or at least that a copy of the original be taken.**

The statement that the work was never intended for publication is, like others in the recommendation, erroneous, for Father Andrés Pérez explains in his Prologue how he was commanded under holy obedience to write the history for publication. He has the usual *Protesta* of authors regarding his use of the terms holy and martyr, a Prologue, a dedication, and a description of his authorities, all preludes to publication. Other conclusive proofs of his intention will be forthcoming in the course of this account. What became of the document after the death of the author in 1655, how it got out of the Jesuit house or archive, and why it remained unpublished for upwards of two hundred and forty years, are difficult questions.

A brief description of this frequently discovered manuscript and a comparison of its contents with those of the printed work will reveal its importance. There are 755 leaves in the original manuscript, 1999 pages foolscap in the copy, and 988 pages in the printed work. All three are divided at the same place into two volumes. Each volume is divided into books, five in the first volume and six in the second. The books are divided into chapters of varying numbers, twelve the smallest number and thirty-seven the largest. The chapters total 284; of these 49 out of 134 of the first volume are not in the printed work, and 8 out of 150 of the second volume are omitted. These 57 missing chapters are in the Washington manuscript and Newberry copy. Here and there the printed work lacks paragraphs or pages, but it is pleasing to note for the information of those who may use the *Corónica*, that the chapters, indicated by the asterisks as missing, are intact and available in manuscript, and that what is printed follows the manuscripts closely. The manuscript pages in some few places are corrected, although rarely to such an extent as to cause despair of choosing the author's meaning. Another point

of value in the manuscript is the marginal notation of dates, omitted by the printer, and indications of sources wherefrom materials were drawn. Moreover, it contains the interesting Prologue and dedication, and in the last part continues the history of the northern missions to 1644, ten years beyond the point reached in the *Historia de los Triumphos*.

The Prologue is divided into four parts. The first part announces the object and material of the history, and is stated in far briefer terms in the title page, although it must be said in all fairness that the full name of the work on the title page resembles in its turn a prologue. The second part reveals what end and motive the venerable historian had in writing the history, which was to prevent the story of the marvelous works of his predecessors from falling into oblivion and to show gratitude to God for the bounty received at His hand. The third part is an account of the authorities and original sources from which Ribas drew his materials; it illuminates somewhat the historical methods of his time, and stamps the author as a man with true historical instincts, even if a reader might not conclude as much from his book. He explored the various house and provincial archives of the Jesuits, verified and checked statements of letter writers and "old timers" against the Cartas Annuas, and gathered background materials from preceding historians and from diocesan repositories. His protestation of truthfulness, backed as it is by his fine character, suffice in a way for the regrettable lack of footnote citation. Again, he was a contemporary of many of the events he records and an eyewitness of not a few happenings between 1602 and 1654. The last part of the Prologue gives the disposition and order of the materials.

Andrés Pérez de Ribas, or Rivas, is perhaps sufficiently well known to students of the history of the early advance of the Spanish colonial empire up the Pacific Slope of North America. Certainly he was so familiar an authority to historians of Pacific Coast history and early seventeenth century mission and frontier history as to be a byword, so familiar that no one has written his eventful biography. His *Triumphs of Our Holy Faith* gives an account of his labors only for a portion of his life. He was born in Córdova, Andalucía, Spain, in 1576, and apparently at an early age began his studies for the priesthood. He was already ordained at the age of twenty-six years, but did not serve long in his diocese, for in 1602 he gained admission to the Society of Jesus. The authorities cited above are almost unanimous

in regard to the time of his arrival in America, namely 1602, and the beginning of his novitiate. Yet, Alegre in his pages covering the activities of the Jesuits for the years 1599 and 1600 mentions Andrés Pérez as having residence at the College of Espíritu Santo in Puebla.[7] This large establishment of the Jesuits was a college for secular students, with rooms set apart for novices and tertians of the Society. According to Alegre the fathers were accustomed to sally forth into the surrounding country to instruct the Indians of the villages; Andrés Pérez was one so engaged on these expeditions and laying the foundations of his later apostolic career.

So clear to his superiors were the manifestations of his aptitude for missionary work and organization that he was marked for a great mission. Occasion for sending Andrés Pérez soon presented itself. There were floods and difficulties in the land of the Sinaloas.[8] The military guardian of the frontier territory, the captain at the Presidio of San Felipe, was bandy-legged Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide.[9] With the Jesuit mission under Martín Pérez partly in ruins and with the Indians scattering to the dryer places in the mountains, his work of organizing the outpost was endangered. He consulted with the Viceroy Montesclaros and with the Jesuit Provincial, asking for two additional missionaries. Cristóbal de Villalta and Andrés Pérez de Ribas returned with him at the beginning of 1604. The long journey of three hundred leagues from Mexico City northwest to the infidel lands was made under circumstances which demanded courage of body and soul, and as the years passed, Ribas and his fellow workers exhibited a courageous optimism for the land and people that is beyond our comprehension.

On their arrival in Sinaloa the captain and missionaries were greeted by delegations of the Sinaloas, Tehuecos, Suaquis, and Ahomes, petitioning for resident fathers for their villages. The superior called the missionaries together for appointments, and Ribas was assigned to the Suaquis and the neighboring

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[7] Alegre, I, 376. Alegre apologizes, however, at this point for the lack of names and dates in the manuscript Cartas Annuas and papers he was utilizing. See notes 10 and 12 *infra*. But Alegre, himself may be taken to task for this same defect, and especially for forgetting to mention anything about the last days and death of Ribas.

[8] Alegre, I, 424-427, tells the story more briefly than does Ribas in his *Historia de los Triumphos*.

[9] Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 14-23, gives a fine description captioned "Northward the Course of Empire," see especially pages 16-17. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, Chapter IX, treats the period 1600-1650.

Ahomes. For sixteen years he centered his activities at Ahome, living the life of a zealous missionary and later writing the history of these years of evangelization into his *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith* and manuscript History of Sinaloa. In spite of floods, Indian uprisings, martyrdoms of other Jesuits across the mountains, and the obstinacy of the forlorn land, under the protection of Hurdaile, Ribas and his companions carried discipline, Christianity, and a civilized mode of living one step deeper into the barbarian world, and this during the time when Jamestown was assuming definite form as a base for English colonization and Quebec was being established as the firm French foothold.

Father Andrés journeyed to Mexico City several times. Early in 1612 he returned in order to pronounce his solemn vows and thus to become a professed father.[10] In September, 1616, he passed through the Tepehuán country shortly before the great rebellion of that year, on his way to see the viceroy about licenses for instructing the Yaquis.[11] The third time was at the end of the year 1619, when he was relieved of missionary burdens.[12]

As in the case of three other outstanding missionaries before his time, the arduous apostolic life brought to the attention of the Jesuit superiors Ribas' qualities as an administrator and director. Because of his ability he was ultimately to become a provincial, one of the twelve missionary provincials of the Province of New Spain. In their ranks was Father Nicolás Arnaya, reputedly deemed worthy of a number of votes for the office of General of the Society.[13] But since Ribas' appointments to higher

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[10] A letter of the General of the Jesuits, Claude Aquaviva, in the Mexican Province Archives, dated Rome, June 23, 1609, to the visitor, Rogrigo de Cabredo, states that Father Andrés Pérez is to be given the profession of four vows after he has been in the Company ten years. In the preface to the printed *Corónica*, the anonymous editor says he made his profession on June 21, 1612. He errs in saying that this act was the beginning of Ribas' missionary life. Alegre, I, 82, tells how Ribas went to Mexico, but mentions no profession. If the orders regarding the time set for his profession, as given in the general's letter cited above, were followed, Ribas entered the Society in 1602.

[11] Alegre, II, 92.

[12] *Ibid.*, II, 123. The date generally given for the completion of Ribas' term in the Yaqui country is 1620. His term ended as superior in 1619 with the appointment of Father Villalta as superior. Ribas wrote a brief, edifying biographical sketch of Villalta in his *Corónica*, Vol. II, Bk. VI, Ch. XXV. The latter, like Ribas apparently, was ordained just prior to his embarkation with twenty-two other Jesuits for America in 1602.

[13] Gerardo Decorme, S. J., La Obra de Los Jesuitas en Mexico durante la Época Colonial, (1930) ms., 359.

offices in Mexico City did not take place for some years after 1620, there is reason to suppose that he was recalled from Sinaloa at the relatively early age of forty-four for other causes. These could not be his want of humility, tact, judgment, integrity, zeal, or obedience. His health, most likely, had much to do with the change, for in a letter of 1622 from the General, Andrés Pérez is listed with other fathers who are to be permitted the use of chocolate in the absence of medicines for their illnesses.[14] And as chocolate was a potion frowned upon by the superiors for years past, it may be supposed that some urgent need got Father Ribas the concession to partake of its medicinal properties. Its effects presumably were beneficial.

If the *Triumphos* cover the life of Ribas to 1620, the *Corónica* describes his interests during the ensuing thirty-five years. He was designated socius, or secretary, to the Provincial, Juan Laurencio, in 1623,[15] and was acting as such during a visitation of all houses and colleges of the Jesuits in 1624.[16] At that time the Viceroy Marqués de Gelves and the Metropolitan Juan Pérez de la Serna were having their notorious tiff in Mexico City. Ribas may well have been socius to the succeeding provincial. During these and the several following years there is no ready evidence to show that he was rector at any of the Jesuit houses, and hence he probably utilized the time, over and above what was required for his office, in composing his many manuscript pages and in performing the pastoral work for which the Professed House was noted. In 1631 no official title or position appears after his name.[17]

Ribas was rector of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San

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[14] Letter of Mutius Vitelleschi to Augustín de Quiros, Visitador, Rome, August 8, 1622. That Father Andrés needed the chocolate as a remedy and not as a luxury may be deduced from another letter of the same General to Juan Laurencio, Provincial, March 16, 1625, in which the spirit of religious mortification of Father Andrés is commended. The letters of the Generals cited in these pages and the Acts of the Congregations are all in manuscript in the Mexican Province Archives of the Jesuit house at Ysleta, Texas.

[15] Decorme, La Obra, 66. Beristain y Souza, III, 28, has Ribas rector of the Colegio Máximo after his missionary work.

[16] Alegre, II, 152. Father Laurencio is the same who in 1609 went as chaplain with the army that was sent out to rid the country of the insurgent Cimarrons, who had turned highwaymen and were the terrors of the road between Mexico and Vera Cruz. *Ibid.*, II, 10. Ribas gives his life, Vol. II, Bk. VI, Ch. XXV.

[17] Acta Congregationis, November, 1631, ms. Mexican Province Archives, lists him without comment as participating in the provincial congregation, the thirty-first in seniority of the forty oldest professed in the province; the rectors of the Colegio Máximo and of the Casa Profesa are designated.

Pablo during 1635, at which time some new construction work was inaugurated at the college.[18] This rectorship was a very important position, because the college, founded sixty years earlier by the first Jesuits to arrive in New Spain, was the center of all Jesuit educational activity in the widespread province. The arts course then in vogue in similar institutions all over Europe was offered, and the humanities, philosophy, and theology were given for the Jesuit students who were there in training. According to the records Ribas was still presiding over the destinies of the large college in 1637.[19] As his incumbency drew to a close an incident, unique in the annals of Jesuit history, cropped up. The story revolves around a plethora of provincials, Ribas among them, and the mystification of his companions in Mexico and the General at Rome regarding the superiorship.

In the provincial congregation of 1631, Father Florian de Ayerve, former Provincial in New Granada, was elected procurator. He set out for Rome bearing the petitions of the Mexican province Jesuits to the General, one being a repetition of the request that no provincial or rector should hold office for more than three years.[20] The request was granted, and Ayerve returned with the patent of provincial for himself, and with a letter for Father Luis Bonifaz, a missionary of old, and rector of the Casa Profesa. Ayerve's term, beginning in 1632, would in view of the decision be completed in 1635. To the surprise of all concerned, no new appointee appeared on the scene in 1635 nor in 1636, and Ayerve continued in office.[21] Evidently, the General, getting letters from Ayerve, was mystified, and wrote asking why Father Luis Bonifaz had not taken over his duties.[22] A revelation was made. Ayerve had not delivered the letter of appointment to Bonifaz.[23] He justified his action with an explanation of the

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[18] Alegre, II, 202. The present writer made a detailed study of this college, which is incorporated in a work soon to be published on the educational institutions of the Jesuits in New Spain.

[19] Letter of Mutius Vitelleschi to Floriano de Ayerve, October 30, 1637, and Acta Congregationis, November, 1637, both name him as such.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Alegre, II, 205. The binder of the copy of Alegre at hand got the pages confused so that p. 205 follows p. 220.

[22] The letters of Vitelleschi continue to be addressed to Ayerve until 1637.

[23] Alegre, II, 205-206, has a different version, which is incorrect according to Decorme, La Obra, 354-356; the latter had access to materials unavailable to Alegre. Alegre's story is that Bonifaz received the appointment, but out of humility, kept it a secret until the end of 1636, actually intending to keep silence for another year and thus to serve his term of three years without anyone being the wiser.

poor health of the old missionary and a general inability to govern. Bonifaz then began to perform his duties in 1637, although the fact was unknown to the General, who wrote to Ayerve in October, 1637, appointing Father Andrés Pérez, Provincial.[24] It seemed then that there were three provincials, Bonifaz who was so acting, Ayerve who was getting the letters, and Ribas whose appointment was unknown in Mexico. Nor did Ribas wish it to become known. In as much as his old friend Bonifaz had two years more in which to occupy a place held in much esteem, he did not wish to take it over.[25] In the predicament occasioned by two friends charitably bowing each other in and out of office, a provincial consultation was called, and according to its verdict Father Ribas was to have tenure from 1638 to 1641, and Father Bonifaz was to succeed him. So it was done.[26]

Ribas was superior of approximately three hundred and eighty members of the Province of New Spain, who, over and above teaching and administering in the sixteen Jesuit colleges then in operation, were laboring in the missions and directing seminaries and parochial affairs. In June of 1641 he turned over the charge to Father Bonifaz,[27] and went to live in his former abode as rector of the Colegio Máximo.[28] In January of 1643 the provincial congregation again elected him procurator to the eighth General Congregation of the Society, and thus he went to Europe and became a participant in the convocation which chose Vincent Carrafa, General of the Order on January 7, 1646.[29] En route to Rome, Ribas visited the Court of Madrid to take care of some affairs not related directly to the main purpose of his journey, but apparently having to do with some petitions from Oaxaca then before the Council of the Indies.[30] While in Madrid he supervised the publication of his history of the missions of Sinaloa.

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[24] Vitelleschi to Ayerve, October 30, 1637.

[25] Alegre, II, 206.

[26] Decorme, La Obra, 356. Shortly after Ribas received his appointment to the provincialate, the provincial congregation elected him as procurator; much curiosity was aroused when he did not depart at the time appointed. Alegre, *loc cit.* Ayerve was severely reprimanded by the General; Letter of Vitelleschi to Ayerve, in Decorme, *loc. cit.* Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 235, makes Ribas provincial in 1620.

[27] Vitelleschi to Juan de Bueras, Visitor, November 30, 1641, mentions this date for the change of office.

[28] Alegre, II, 231, says he became rector in February, 1641, at which time Bonifaz became provincial. See note above.

[29] Ribas, *Corónica*, Introduction.

[30] This business is referred to in a letter of the secretary of the General to Bueras, March 31, 1645.

The new General evidently was pleased with the work, for on April 20, 1646, he dispatched a letter to Bueras expressing his desire for a history of the Province. The Provincial was told to entrust the writing to Andrés Pérez, who had given so much satisfaction and who was best qualified for the undertaking by reason of his life as a missionary and his long years of service as superior. Ribas was to be ordered to begin the work immediately, and superiors of the province were to place at his disposal all facilities for its happy completion.[31] A brother was to be his amanuensis.

Ribas returned to Mexico in September, 1648.[32] It is stated that in this year he became *Prepositus,* or rector, of the Casa Profesa, yet the General through this year and part of the next specifically mentions Father Calderón as holding this position. Ribas assumed the office sometime in 1649,[33] and remained in it until 1651.[34] In this year because of the dispute between Bishop Palafox and the Jesuits, vice-rectors and a vice-provincial were appointed, who held such titles until May of the following year. Ribas it may be supposed was hard at the work of composing his Corónica y Historia and gathering items for the many lives of illustrious Jesuits which ultimately were incorporated in his manuscript volumes. These same lives, written by order of the General,[35] and the Palafox affair as described by Ribas, became great obstacles in 1655 to the printing of the Corónica.

As nearly as can be ascertained, Ribas had completed the major part if not all of his composition in 1653, and, quite contrary to the spirit of the regulations regarding publications, had let it get into the hands of other Jesuits for perusal.[36] The regulation regarding revision and censorship demanded that books written for publication should first pass censorship, and that the author should be unknown to the revisors, and vice-versa.[37] Presumably, this procedure would have been impossible in the case of the well-known historian, venerable now by reason of his

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[31] The order was repeated by the next General, Goswin Nickel, to Andrés de Rada, Provincial, in a letter dated June 30, 1651.

[32] Ribas, *Corónica,* Introduction.

[33] Alegre, II, 352.

[34] Goswin Nickel to de Rada, June 30, 1651.

[35] Carrafa to Velasco, April 30, 1648.

[36] Goswin Nickel to the Provincial, January 30, 1654. Parts of the manuscript were even being read in the refectory; the General ordered this stopped until the work was approved.

[37] Carrafa to Velasco, November 30, 1647; in this letter the Provincial was told to submit the manuscript, Aprecio de la Gloria, written by Andrés Pérez, to revisors unknown to the author.

seventy-seven years, and famed for his previous writings. A keen interest in the progress of his book was only natural, and knowledge of what he was doing must have been common in view of his visits to archives and interrogations of authorities. The book though unfinished was discussed on all sides, and ultimately by two sides, namely and as usual, by those who thought he had said too much and by those who thought he had not said enough.[38]

The General had advices on the matter and was under the impression that Ribas did not have the entire truth of the Palafox incident, the narration of which constituted a substantial part of the history. Under the circumstances he did not wish to give the license for printing until further examination could be made, and his opinion was backed by the report of the revisors in Mexico.[39] In order to make the book as truthful as possible he wished it to be sent to Spain, where it would be revised by the Provincial of the Toledo Province. More instructions arrived later in 1655. The revised work was to be sent to the Toledo Provincial, who likewise would add his corrections and return the manuscript to the revisors in Mexico. When the errors would have been corrected full approval would be forthcoming.[40] The manuscript made the journey and was returned to the colonial revisors.[41] But in the meantime Father Andrés Pérez rested in the Lord on March 26, 1655, at the age of seventy-nine.

It would perhaps be wrong to say the results of Ribas' last labors were not published because of inaccuracies or because of lack of interest on the part of the final revisors in whose care the volumes had been placed. An excellent reason why the printing was not done might well have been the want of financial means, for the houses and colleges of the Company were burdened with debts, as the letters of the superiors reveal. After all, there were errors in his preceding *Historia de los Triumphos*, which did not militate against its publication.[42] Neither the diffuse style, nor disposition of materials, nor the inclusion of the

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[38] Goswin Nickel to the Provincial, January 30, 1654.

[39] Goswin Nickel to the Provincial, January 24, 1655.

[40] Response of Goswin Nickel to petitions of the provincial congregation, made October 9, 1655.

[41] Goswin Nickel to Juan Real, Provincial, January 30, 1656. The General repeated the instructions regarding revision and censorship, and stated that as soon as the marked places were corrected license for publication was granted.

[42] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 235, mentions the errors, the clumsy plan, and diffuse style of the *Triumphos*.

edifying lives and pious observations would have been bars in those times to printing the manuscript. No one would have quarreled with the topographical approach employed, and in all probability there would have been no objections to the descriptions of processions, solemnities, and marvelous happenings dotting the work.[43] In fact, even now some of those "exquisite biographies," have real value and colorfulness. One, written with no eye at all to the magnificent array of historical facts which must have accumulated during such a span of years, records the virtues of Brother Pedro Nieto who passed on to his reward at the goodly age of one hundred and thirty-two years.[44]

Ribas was the first Jesuit to attempt a general history of the Province of New Spain, as he states. One other chronicle was begun in 1572 by Juan Sánchez, a scholastic among the first fathers to arrive in Mexico City, but this remains in manuscript, valuable though it is. After Ribas, Father Francisco de Florencia projected an elaborate set of volumes on the same theme, yet he succeeded in producing one volume of his *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España,* in 1694.[45] Florencia entered the Society of Jesus in 1642, when Ribas was rector at the Colegio Máximo, and in writing his work in the years preceding 1694, he utilized a manuscript Corónica. Alegre, the last to attempt a general history, having the manuscript at his disposal, at times cited and at other times took issue with statements.

Is the manuscript in the Library of Congress the original Ribas Corónica? In seeking the answer to this question the writer

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[43] Astrain, *Historia,* IV, xvii, has a curt criticism of the style and content.

[44] Nieto was born in the Asturias. Inspired by the deeds of Cortés, he joined up with the militia of the Indies at an early age and sailed at a later time for Florida with Pedro Menéndez. Afterwards he arrived in New Spain, came into contact with the Jesuit brothers working on a farm, and in spite of his 78 years was admitted to the Society. He made his novitiate and was sent to direct labor on the farm. After he had passed his one hundredth birthday, superiors thought he was getting old for such work. He was made porter at the Jesuit College of San Ildefonso. There he remained for the next thirty years, celebrated his golden jubilee as a Jesuit, and died some years later in 1637. His memory, vision, and hearing remained good until the end. Curious persons were wont to ask him when he was born, just to hear him answer: "In the year 200." Local investigators, summing up remarks made occasionally about his voyages, set his birthday back to the year 1505. Ribas always found him happy when he visited the college.

[45] For a good account of this, see J. Manuel Espinosa, "Francisco de Florencia, S. J., 1619-1695: Our First Native-Born Priest," in *The Historical Bulletin,* St. Louis University, XIII (May, 1935), 65.

has become deeply indebted to Miss Stella R. Clemence for items of information which make possible some solution.[46]

At least four, and possibly five manuscripts come under scrutiny: (1) The two-volume manuscript in folio in the Library of Congress; (2) A 160-page transcript of the first 39 folios of the above; (3) The complete transcript in the Newberry Library; (4) The copy from which the printing of the *Corónica* was done in Mexico; (5) The manuscript from which the last named deficient copy was made. What happened apparently was this: L. F. Tasistro saw the first manuscript, recommended that it be copied, and was employed by Peter Force to make the transcript.[47] He finished 160 pages; Mr. Force then obtained the whole manuscript; both items, according to Miss Clemence, "were in the collections of Peter Force, whose extensive library was purchased by the Library of Congress in 1867." The third, in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, was certified as a copy of the original manuscript in the Library of Congress by Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick on December 29, 1900.[48] The fourth has been described in earlier pages as being in the possession of a lady in Mexico at the time the *Corónica* was printed; obviously it was copied before 1896. The fifth is a possible original. Miss Clemence supplies the following data from the files of the Division of Manuscripts

furnished by Dr. Charles Warren Currier, Bishop of Matanza, who examined our manuscript in 1910 and noted that a similar one was mentioned in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque,* as being in the library of Dr. Sánchez y Agreda of Mexico. He investigated the matter and furnished us with a copy of a letter written to him by Francisco Losa, who said that Sr. Don José María de Agreda y Sánchez was at that time sub-director of the National Library of Mexico and informed him that he "still owned the manuscript; that Father Gerste requested permission to copy it, but could not do it, on account of his departure for Europe," and that "some time after, Father Laureano Veres copied it on the recommendation of Father Gerste, and

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[46] Miss Clemence is editor of the Spanish materials in the Division of Manuscripts. A letter of inquiry was addressed by the present writer to the acting chief of the Division, Dr. Thomas P. Martin, who asked Miss Clemence to investigate the matter and then kindly relayed her findings.

[47] Miss Clemence says this "was copied for Mr. Force by a certain L. F. Tasistro, according to two receipts for twenty dollars each, dated respectively, Washington, Dec. 26, 1849, and Feb. 2, 1850, which are bound in with the manuscript. There is also a loose double folio, in the hand of the copyist Tasistro. . . . It begins 'In the whole range of historical . . .' and ends 'or at least that a copy of the original may be taken.' "

[48] Miss Clemence says: "Dr. Fitzpatrick tells me that the man who made the Newberry transcript was a Puerto Rican, whose name he cannot recall, but who was a careful and conscientious worker."

that copy served for the edition given out by the Jesuits of Mexico in two volumes in 1896."

Whether the printed *Corónica* was done from a copy made by Father Veres, or from one owned by a lady, as the editor explained,[49] makes little difference, for in either case the editor did not have some portions known to have been in the original. The point is that he would not in all probability have undertaken a large printing assignment and this from a deficient and difficult manuscript, if a complete manuscript or transcript was known and available to him. Therefore, until the manuscript said to be in the possession of Dr. Agreda y Sánchez comes to light, there is nothing more to say on the subject. It may prove an original, on a par with that in the Library of Congress, since quite possibly two or more copies were made by the amanuenses in the time of Ribas for the convenience of the revisors. On the other hand, it may be a truncated copy, similar to the others just discussed.

The elimination process leaves only the manuscript in the Library of Congress. Used by Florencia before 1694, by Alegre before 1767, and discovered in its present condition before 1849 by Tasistro, it was bought as an ancient document by Mr. Force before 1867, and recognized as an original by Dr. Fitzpatrick in 1900. To quote our recent informant, it "is in the original leather bindings and is on paper with an early seventeenth-century water-mark . . . , written in several hands. . . . There are but few corrections. . . . But in a few places . . . there are many and important changes in the text. These sections with many text changes are all in the same hand, and in this same hand are written the second half of the title page . . . and many marginal notes. . . ." This is in accord with what might be expected in view of the work of revisors, of the Provincial of the Toledo Province, of Ribas, and of the amanuenses. Furthermore, the style and content bear marks of contemporaneousness. It may be possible in the near future to get samples of Ribas' handwriting in his later days for comparison with that in the manuscript and thus settle a number of minor details of textual criticism.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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[49] Ribas, *Corónica*, Introduction.

# Donato Gasparri, New Mexico-Colorado Mission Founder

The Mexican War, which ended in 1848, resulted in the transfer of a huge portion of the Spanish Southwest from Mexico to the United States. A great number of the people inhabiting the region were of the Catholic Faith, and consequently the affairs of religion had to be adjusted to the new régime. The episcopal leaders of the Church deemed it best to place the ecclesiastical administration under the American flag, and after due deliberation made an appeal to Rome. At the request of the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, propaganda erected the Vicariate of New Mexico, and John Baptist Lamy was appointed first Vicar Apostolic of the area. He arrived in his headquarters in Santa Fé on August 8, 1851, and immediately set about organizing his vicariate. At first there was some difficulty with the Bishop of Durango, Mexico, to whose jurisdiction New Mexico had previously belonged, and with the local clergy concerning matters pertinent to the transfer of authority.[1] The settlement was ultimately brought about by Bishop Lamy after a fifteen hundred mile journey to Durango.

Father Joseph Projectus Machebeuf, later first Bishop of Denver, accompanied the Right Reverend Vicar Apostolic to New Mexico, and when Lamy became Bishop of the Diocese of Santa Fé in 1853, he served as his vicar general. Father Machebeuf has left a vivid description of the conditions which the new Bishop had to face at the beginning of his incumbency.

> This is a country of ancient Catholicity, but, alas, how times have changed! Instead of that piety and practical religion which marked the days of the Missions, we have now but the forms and the exterior of religion. The people are all very exact in their attendance at the church services, they

[1] When Durango was made a bishopric in 1620, it included the territory of the present states of Durango, Chihuahua, Sonora, and New Mexico. The last named three had a mission status. Through the following centuries the Bishop of Durango claimed jurisdiction over New Mexico, though the Franciscans were in charge. In the last years of the Spanish colonial rule, they were acting as parish priests, receiving some salary from the government, yet the Bishop of Durango had established his vicar in New Mexico. Under Mexican republican rule after 1821, there was a continued decline in missionary and parochial activities. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, San Francisco, 1889, 269-273, gives a number of source references and a dark picture of the religious life in New Mexico for the years 1750-1800, and later mentions the continued decline for the years 1800-1821, *ibid.*, 306-307.

observe all the feasts and keep up their confraternities and societies, but the reception of the sacraments is sadly neglected where it is not entirely abandoned. In a population of 70,000, including the converted Indians, there are but fifteen priests, and six of these are worn out by age and have no energy. The others have not a spark of zeal, and their lives are scandalous beyond description. It is plainly evident that Bishop Lamy will need to exercise the greatest prudence, as well as zeal and devotedness, in the government of such a diocese.

The people in general show the best dispositions. They have the docility of children towards the priest, and if the few remaining Mexican priests who have still the force of youth in them, were animated with any good intentions, it would be the easiest thing in the world to bring these people back to the practice of their religion. But, alas! the great obstacle to the good which the Bishop is disposed to do among them, does not come from the people but from the priests themselves, who do not want the Bishop, for they dread a reform in their morals, or a change in their selfish relations with their parishioners. One of the great neglects of the priests of New Mexico is that they seldom or never preach. But how could such priests preach?[2]

There were two solutions to the Bishop's problem. He might either form a new native clergy, or he might go in search of missionaries. The first solution was impossible under the existing conditions in New Mexico. A few months after he arrived in Santa Fé he wrote to Father DeSmet at St. Louis asking him to send some Jesuits.[3] But the Jesuits in St. Louis could not spare even one man. The Bishop, as is rather well known, succeeded in obtaining a number of secular priests from France, mostly from his home province of Auvergne. One of his greatest difficulties was the lack of schools. To solve this difficulty he opened a school for boys in his own house about 1852. The Sisters of Loretto came that same year to open a school for girls. They were followed a few years later by the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati.

The priests from Auvergne were doing splendid work as pastors, and the religious were conducting schools for the children in a sufficiently satisfactory manner. But, as time went on and improvements continued under his vigilant eye, he became concerned with the progress of the superstructure of his diocese. The problems of the frontier were bound up with those of the beginnings of civic life. He was desirous of having if possible a group of religious who could conduct missions, administer par-

[2] W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf*, Pueblo, Colorado, 1908, 164-165.

[3] Letter of Father P. DeSmet, dated St. Louis University, February 6, 1853, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Lyon, France, 1853, 322.

ishes, found a college, and eventually open a seminary for the training of the local clergy. With such projects in mind he bent his efforts toward obtaining some Jesuits. He dispatched a letter to the Jesuit headquarters at Rome, asking that New Mexico be assigned as a mission area to some province of the Society of Jesus. He succeeded in obtaining a loan of two Jesuits from the California mission for a few months in 1864,[4] but they came with the understanding that they were to stay only for a short time. Finally, when in Rome in 1866, Bishop Lamy personally requested Father Peter Beckx, General of the Society of Jesus, to give him some missionaries.[5]

The members of the Province of Naples, it so happened, had been driven into exile by Garibaldi in 1860, and were looking for a foreign mission. At first there was some hesitancy about accepting a mission in the "wild and woolly west" of the United States, but when ordered to take over the work, Father Francis Ferrante, Provincial of the Neapolitan Province, immediately began looking for men capable of founding the new mission.

Father Donato Maria Gasparri, who was preaching at Valencia, and Father Rafael Bianchi, professor of philosophy at Tortosa, Spain, were chosen for the task, along with two lay brothers, Prisco Caso and Rafael Vezza. In New York they were joined by Father Livio Vigilante, who had been teaching at Holy Cross College. Father Vigilante, the only member of the group who could speak English, had been appointed first superior. After an eventful trip across the plains they arrived in Santa Fé August 15, 1867.[6] On August 20, Fathers Gasparri and Bianchi with the two lay brothers arrived in Bernalillo to found the first Jesuit mission in New Mexico.[7]

Despite the lack of laborers and the fact that the missionaries were forced to learn two new languages and an entirely new mode of life, the work progressed. Men from noble families and the best schools of Italy came to join them and share the frijoles of the Mexican peon and the rough life of the mining

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[4] Letter of Bishop Lamy, Santa Fé, August 25, 1866, in *ibid.*, July, 1867.

[5] F. M. Troianek, Historia Societatis Jesu in Novo Mexico et Colorado, manuscript, n. d., 140 pages, in Regis College Archives, Denver, p. vii. This remarkable manuscript history was written in Latin by Father Troianek, S. J., who was born in Irkutsk, Siberia, and became a member of the New Orleans Province of the Jesuits, which took over the Neapolitan missions as explained *infra*. He was known until his death as Father Troy.

[6] Father Gasparri's account of the journey was found in the archives of San Felipe Church, Old Albuquerque; it was translated and edited by Doctor Espinosa, and published in MID-AMERICA, XX (January, 1938), 51-62.

[7] Troianek, 16-18.

camp. Professors of philosophy and theology taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Traveling by wagon, on horseback, and on foot these men carried the word of God from Old Mexico to Montana, to California, to the plains of Kansas, and into western Texas. Their *Revista Catolica,* established and published regularly, filled the need of a Catholic press in the Southwest. The parochial schools and colleges of the Jesuits played a major part in Catholic education. Their mission and parish work formed a large portion of the life blood of the dioceses of Santa Fé, Tucson, and Denver.

Father Gasparri was not the first superior of the New Mexico-Colorado Mission of the Neapolitan Province, but succeeded to that post after the return east of Father Vigilante. Nevertheless, it was Father Gasparri who was the true founder of the mission. He occupied the post of superior from 1868 until 1876, and until his death in 1882 he was looked upon as the leading spirit of the mission.

Donato Maria Gasparri was born in Biccario, Italy, April 26, 1834, and was educated in the College of Salerno, under the direction of the Society of Jesus. He entered the Society at the age of sixteen years. The usual course of studies was interrupted by Garibaldi in 1860, and he was forced to finish his theology at the College of Laval in France. From there he went to Manresa, Spain, to make his tertianship. The order to go to New Mexico found him acting in the capacity of preacher in Valencia. Bishop Lamy's first appointment for his new missioners was the conduct of missions throughout his diocese. To Father Gasparri, the most eloquent of the group, fell the task of giving the mission that ended the famous Taos schism.[8]

Before they had left Europe, Fathers Gasparri and Bianchi had collected some money to establish a mission among the Indians, but when they arrived in New Mexico they found that their work was to be among the Spanish speaking natives. What should they do with the money? Father Gasparri decided upon an attempt to open a mission among the Navajo. After overcoming many difficulties with the local authorities he was forced to abandon his plan because he could not obtain transportation.[9] He did, however, attend a mission chapel for the Indians at the Pueblo of Sandia. He promptly gave it up when he found to his fear and sorrow that the Indians had been keeping a live rattle-

[8] *Ibid.*, 27-28.
[9] *Ibid.*, 32-36.

snake under the altar for purposes of idolatrous veneration.[10]

Father Gasparri soon realized that if his small number of missionaries were to compete with the increasing number of Protestant ministers, he must obtain some new means of spreading their work more widely and effectively. He decided to establish a Catholic press in New Mexico. With the help he received from Bishop Lamy and with the donations of some of the diocesan clergy he was able to bring to New Mexico the first power press to be set up there. In January the first issue of the *Revista Catolica* made its appearance. It was to be a Spanish weekly containing news items, editorials, sermons, and "moral stories." Since 1875 the *Revista Catolica* has never ceased to be a champion of the Church in the Southwest. In addition to the *Revista Catholica* Gasparri's press has printed a number of books and pamphlets varying from grade school textbooks to a Spanish translation of the Bible. Father Gasparri was first editor of the review, and it was as such that he merited his nickname of "the Walking Encyclopedia." When the Neapolitan mission was disbanded in 1919, members of the New Orleans Province continued the publication.

One of the principal reasons Bishop Lamy had for obtaining Jesuits was the hope that they would open a college and seminary in New Mexico to train a native clergy. Father Gasparri's first attempt resulted in the dismal failure of Holy Family College, Albuquerque.[11] Nothing daunted, he was one of the most enthusiastic backers of those wishing a college at Las Vegas a few years later. This time he was successful. During the erection of the building at Las Vegas he was architect, contractor, bricklayer, and carpenter.

His life was eventful in many ways. When "los Americanos" began to arrive in the Southwest it was Father Gasparri who rode from door to door warning the natives against the land sharks and helping those who would not heed his warning.[12] One time he rode ninety miles across the prairies in an open buggy in order to prevent the marriage of a Catholic girl and a man who, he knew, already had a wife in the old country.[13] Sister

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[10] "Bourke on the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XI (1936), 267-268.

[11] This school was dignified by the name of a "collegium inchoatum," but the pupils never advanced beyond their a b c's and the school was turned over to the Sisters of Charity in 1885.

[12] Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fé Trail*, Columbus, Ohio, 1932, 235.

[13] *Ibid.*, 234.

Blandina relates another incident that is typical of the means he would use to protect his flock:

> . . . Father Gasparri was notified that one of the girls of his parish had just been enticed into a house of questionable virtue. The moment he heard it, keeping on his soutane and biretta, he walked quickly to the house. The mistress answered the door. She was alarmed when she saw the priest at the door, and was frightened when he said: "I demand Miss ———, who has just been brought here!"
>
> A man stepped out to answer his demand. "I am the one who brought the girl here, because she wanted to come. If you make any more fuss about it, I'll shoot you."
>
> "You may shoot, but while I breathe I demand that innocent girl."
>
> Quickly the man drew out his revolver. Just as quickly the girl sprang between the priest and the man.
>
> "Black Gown, you win!" snarled the villain.[14]

Fearless, untiring, a man of the hour, Father Gasparri continued to write, preach, build. In 1880 he began the erection of a church for the English speaking Catholics in Albuquerque. In the fall of 1882 he was invited to preach for the feast of the Immaculate Conception in Chihuahua, Mexico, but was unable to go. He suffered an apoplectic stroke a few days later and died December 18, 1882. During the time he was delirious prior to his death he gave the sermon he had planned to preach in the Cathedral in Chihuahua. At the time of his death he was only forty-eight years old.

A Protestant, speaking of him after his death, said: "He soared above the best intellects; the peer of orators; the protector of innocence; the father of all the distressed; one who made himself all to all."[15] "Let us begin, God will provide," was his motto through life. He saw the New Mexico-Colorado mission through its most trying years and left it firmly established.

A rapid glance over the work of the mission will give some slight idea of the importance it played in the Southwest. The first Jesuit parish was Bernalillo, but this was abandoned for San Felipe, Old Albuquerque, in 1868. In 1871 the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado was placed under the care of the mission, and the Jesuit church at Del Norte was the first church consecrated in Colorado (1899). Father Pinto, S. J., was the first priest in republican times to take up residence in Pueblo, Colorado, where he arrived in 1872. In 1875 the Jesuits were given Trinidad, with the whole of Las Animas county as their

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[14] *Ibid.*, 234-235.
[15] *Ibid.*, 252.

parish. Father Guida founded Sacred Heart parish, Denver, in the fall of 1879. In 1883 the mission erected its first church in El Paso, Texas. In 1884 Father Schiffini began the erection of Immaculate Conception Church in East Las Vegas. The Jesuits conducted Las Vegas College, 1877-1888, and Sacred Heart College, Morrison, from 1884 to 1888. In 1888 these two schools were combined into Sacred Heart College, Denver (the present Regis College). The *Catalogus Provinciae Napolitanae* for 1919 gives the following statistics regarding the New Mexico-Colorado mission. There were belonging to the mission: one bishop (Bishop Schuler of El Paso), seventy-six priests, forty-three scholastics, and thirty-eight brothers. In Albuquerque the Jesuits had four parishes; in the San Luis Valley two parishes; in Denver two parishes, and Sacred Heart College; in Pueblo, Colorado, three parishes; the parish of Trinidad which included all the mission stations in Las Animas County; in El Paso seven parishes; and residences in Socorro and Ysleta, Texas.

The members of the mission had erected fourteen parochial and fifty mission churches. In giving missions they had visited every parish and mission station in Southern Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, in most of Southern California, and the northern states of Mexico. Each year they gave an average of forty retreats or triduums for the spiritual betterment of the people.

The New Mexico-Colorado mission was disbanded on August 15, 1919, thus bringing to a close one of the most interesting and romantic chapters of Jesuit mission endeavor in the United States. No history of the entire mission has been written. Nor will it be an easy task to write one. Essential documents are scattered from El Paso to Denver and are written in five languages. Then, too, the amount of work and the vast territory covered are enough to discourage any individual effort. The work of the late Fathers Troianek (Troy) of Albuquerque and Tommasini of Denver has facilitated matters a little, but there remains much to be done. Like many missionaries of the early days, the fathers of the Neapolitan Province were too busy with pastoral cares to write what would be welcome documents.

EDWARD R. VOLLMAR

# William Howlett, Pioneer Missionary and Historian

## II. Chaplain at Loretto and Historian

A kind Providence directed Father Howlett's last years in a manner singularly agreeable to the inclinations and talents of the veteran missionary. Born in New York State in 1847, he passed into manhood in pioneer Michigan, acquired his first lessons in the clerical life in Kentucky, and devoted the most vigorous years of his priesthood to the ministry in Colorado from 1877 to 1915. His life was an active one, which witnessed and was a part of rapid and profound mutations in the economic and social milieu of the Rocky Mountain country. But his concern with the cares of the present did not render him indifferent to the accomplishments of other days. He lived beyond most of his generation, and his memory cherished much that others had failed to appreciate as likely to be of interest to posterity. He had a tender regard for the days that were passed and for the friends that had gone before.

To one of such a temperament the Loretto Mother House possessed a very definite significance. The land whereon it is build was originally acquired for the service of religion by Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, and one of the most colorful of frontier ecclesiastics. Known as Saint Stephen's, it long served as the residence of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx. To it, in 1811, came Kentucky's pioneer bishop, Benedict Joseph Flaget. On the same grounds Bishop Flaget inaugurated the West's first ecclesiastical seminary for candidates for the secular priesthood. Less than a hundred yards from the chaplain's residence nestles the small brick cottage built by Father Badin to serve as a shelter for rest and meditation in the intervals between his missionary journeys. In the convent cemetery repose the remains of Father Nerinckx, of a number of the pioneer clergy of Kentucky, and of the founders and early members of the Loretto Society. Within a radius of a few miles are located many of the most venerable spots in the history of the Church in Kentucky—Holy Cross, Saint Charles, Saint Rose's, Saint Mary's, Gethsemani, Nazareth, Bardstown. Father Howlett was bound to Loretto by many ties, personal and

spiritual. To spend what remained to him of strength and service in promoting the welfare of this pioneer American sisterhood he deemed a privilege.

No one who knew Father Howlett in his last years can doubt that he was happy to close his long and laborious life amid these surroundings. Until increasing infirmities compelled him to relinquish many of his duties to an assistant, he entered actively and whole-heartedly into the life and activities of the Mother House. The aged religious, retired from active service, the novices, receiving their training in the religious life, and the members of the community, engaged in the manifold duties of government and direction, were equally the subjects of his solicitude and his care. Long before death claimed him he had become a very real part of Loretto. His own life was characterized by genuine and persevering loyalties. His loyalty to Loretto—to its welfare and its traditions—will not readily be forgotten by those who came under his intelligent and sympathetic direction. It was singularly fitting that one of the last of our frontier missionaries should spend the last years of his life, 1913 until the dawn of 1936, ministering to a religious community which has given so much to the promotion of religion on the American frontier.

Father Howlett's death marked the passing of almost the last of the line of kindred spirits who from the earliest days of missionary activity in the western country became the recorders as well as the makers of history. His literary work was largely incidental to his more active ministry in behalf of souls. Most of it was carried on during hours snatched from more pressing labors. Moreover, while he had access, in the case of some of his projects, to large blocks of documentary material, he was rarely in a position to undertake the extended research for supplementary sources which would have further enriched his writings. Even in the case of his best known and perhaps most ambitious project, the *Life and Times of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.,* he was not able to obtain access to existing material, much as it would have enhanced the value of the volume.

The greater part of Father Howlett's historical studies are concerned with the history of Catholic life in Kentucky. And in this sector of American Catholic historiography future scholars will probably discern in his work characteristics of the older group of writers who gathered up the crumbs of Catholic history from the pioneers, and of the more recent authors who have

brought to their work all the resources of modern critical scholarship. To the former group belong Kentucky's first permanent priests—Stephen Theodore Badin and Charles Nerinckx, Archbishop Martin John Spalding, and B. J. Webb. In the latter category must be placed Father Victor O'Daniel, Sister Columba Fox, and Sister Ramona Mattingly.

An insight into the motives governing some of his Kentucky studies may be gained from what he relates in his "Recollections" concerning the circumstances attending the writing of his volume on Saint Thomas' Seminary.

> It was my first visit since my seminary days, and it was a saddening visit. The grounds were there, the church was there, the log residence of Bishop Flaget was there, but not a sign of the seminary buildings remained except the excavation where our basement refectory once was. The grounds were strewn with logs, the church was in bad repair, and the whole had a delapidated and neglected appearance. I wrote a letter on the condition of the place to the *Record* of Louisville and that letter did more than I anticipated. It aroused the spirit of the priests of Kentucky to the importance of preserving the ancient landmarks of their faith, and refreshing the memory of the present generation to the glories of the past. . . . The result was my book on the history of Saint Thomas' Seminary.[1]

But Father Howlett did not profess to offer a definitive and detailed history of the pioneer institution. In his preface to the volume he writes:

> While securing historical permanence to the course of the oldest Seminary in the West, my intention has been rather to give definite form to the many expressions of affection and reverence for the old *Alma Mater* and those connected with it, to embody the general feelings of all old St. Thomas' students and to indicate the reasons for the universal good will.
>
> To do this I have taken the more important incidents connected with the establishment of the Seminary, its internal working, and the special and lasting results that trace their causes to it. Minor matters of detail I have used to show the connection between the greater events and the unity of spirit and action that ran through the whole course of its existence.

Father Howlett's *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*,[2] was undertaken at the request of the Sisters of Loretto. The story of their founder's life and labors had already been written by Father, afterwards Bishop, Camillus P. Maes, but this work had long been out of print. Bishop Maes' work, moreover, was cumbersome in construction and was open to very definite objections from an historical standpoint. Finally, the discovery of new and pertinent

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[1] *Historical Tribute to St. Thomas Seminary at Poplar Neck Near Bardstown, Kentucky*, St. Louis, 1906.

[2] *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx, Pioneer Missionary of Kentucky and Founder of the Sisters of Loretto*, Techny, Illinois, 1915.

source material made the preparation of a new life desirable. Father Howlett began the preparation of this work soon after assuming the chaplaincy at Loretto and saw it through the press in 1915.

But it was as the biographer of the Rt. Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf, first Bishop of Denver, that Father Howlett's fame went furthest. Among the priest-historians of the Rocky Mountain country only Father J. Defouri and Archbishop John B. Salpointe preceded him in committing to print accounts of their pioneer co-workers in the ministry in these parts. Years before Father Howlett had advised Sister Philomena, the sister of Bishop Machebeuf, to preserve the bishop's letters to his family in France as sources for a possible future account of Colorado's first bishop. These letters constituted the chief documentary source for Father Howlett's volume.

> It was while at Colorado City that I thought to devote my leisure time to writing. I had not forgotten what Bishop Machebeuf's sister had told me of his letters to her, and I thought I might use them to good purpose. A sketch of Bishop Machebeuf had been written after his death, but no attempt had been made to give anything like a full record of his busy life. I wrote to Sister Philomena and received from her copies of his entire correspondence with his family during the fifty years he had been in America.

Such in a few words is the story of the inception of *The Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.*,[3] which entered so largely into the writing of *Death Comes for the Archbishop*.[4] It was gratifying to the venerable author in the last months of his life to learn of the new interest being taken in this work by scholars of the universities and historical societies of the West.

After the publication of his account of Father Nerinckx, Father Howlett's contributions to the history of the Church in the West took the form of shorter accounts of persons and institutions. A number of these found publication in periodicals and historical reviews.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR

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[3] *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.*, Pueblo, Colorado, 1908.

[4] See *The Commonweal*, November 23, 1927.

## DOCUMENTS

# The Founding of Missions at La Junta de los Rios

### Introduction

The exposition of Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, who accompanied the missionary sons of St. Francis to La Junta de los Rios and to West Texas in 1715, has an importance by reason of the fact that it precedes by one year the Ramón expedition into East Texas. This was the renewal of activities for the foundation and establishment of several missions and pueblos in this region.

The original document, here completely and accurately translated by Reginald C. Reindorp and now published for the first time, may be found in the *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande,* recently discovered by the research scholar, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City. No historian has hitherto recorded the expedition. The story of the journey, given below, graphically describes the country traversed and presents in detail the lives and customs of the various Indian tribes that inhabited this area.

This contribution is remarkable, therefore, since it provides new data for the history of that portion of Texas, which has been unwittingly overlooked by all scholars who have written about the Big Bend country.

Paul J. Foik

We, Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García, Preachers and Missionaries in these new missions of La Junta de los Rios del Norte with the Conchos, of the Holy Province of the Santo Evangelio (Province of the Holy Gospel) of Our Seraphic Father St. Francis of the City of Mexico, certify and relate how Sergeant Major Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, Chief Constable of the Holy Inquisition and Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya for General Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, Governor and Captain General of said Kingdom by order of His Excellency Duque de Linares, Viceroy and Captain General of all the Kingdoms of New Spain, convoyed and brought us to the said new missions, paying out of his own

wealth the expenses of thirty soldiers and their full equipment and arms, while employed in the service of both Majesties, and how he left us in peaceful possession of the said missions, as shown by the reports of the said Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, who, with Catholic zeal, held for this purpose many parliaments by means of an interpreter, with all the chiefs of the eight pueblos which were found. He [Retis] regaled them at his own expense, giving food and decent clothes to the chiefs and their wives, and to all the others various woolen and cotton clothes, knives, tobacco, rosaries, etc., out of regard for the good reception which they accorded us. Likewise, to us, when it was determined that we should remain, he gave flour, meat, condiments, wax, and wine for the celebration of Mass. With his customary kindness and charity, he ordered us to tell him, then and in the future, all our needs so that he might supply them. Being grateful for all the good which he has done for us in our persons as well as for the welfare of these pueblos, we pray God our Lord and will in the future offer our prayers, that He may repay him for so much kindness and charity, increasing his spiritual blessings and his temporal wealth. All these things being true, we sign the record in this Pueblo and Mission of San Francisco de la Junta de los Rios this, the 3rd day of June, 1715, A. D.

Fray Gregorio Osorio
Fray Juan Antonio García

I, Father and Preacher, Fray Joseph de Arránegui of the Order of Our Seraphic Father St. Francis of the Holy Province of the Santo Evangelio of the City of Mexico, do certify and relate how the said Fathers, Fray Andrés Ramírez, Fray Gregorio Osorio, and Fray Juan Antonio García, as well as myself were convoyed to La Junta de los Rios del Norte with the Conchos by Sergeant Major Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, Chief Constable of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, acting for the Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom of Vizcaya as his lieutenant, as ordered by His Excellency Duque de Linares, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of all the Kingdoms of New Spain, who ministered to us whatever the country permitted, paying out of his own wealth the expenses of thirty soldiers and twenty Indian auxiliaries with their General, Don Antonio de la Cruz, Governor of the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes, each bearing his own arms in the service of both Majesties. He left the aforesaid Fathers, Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan

Antonio García, in peaceful possession of said Junta in the Pueblo of San Francisco, having held with great zeal for this purpose many parliaments and assemblies with all the governors, captains, and chiefs of the eight pueblos that were found within a radius of six leagues at and beyond the junction of the two rivers, making everything clear to all, both those who understood Spanish and those who did not, through General Juan Antonio de la Cruz, who officiated as interpreter. Likewise, I certify how said Sergeant Major gave, at his own expense, to the said principal Indians and chiefs such necessities as flour, meat, and clothing for themselves as well as their wives, so that the natives were very contented and expressed their appreciation to the said Sergeant Major in my presence. Likewise, the two above-mentioned priests, having decided to remain in the said new missions, were by him graciously provided and to their satisfaction with such meat, flour, condiments, wax, and wine with which to say Mass, and all other things which seemed necessary. After this, with great generosity, he entreated said priests to make known to him without reservation, then and at all times their needs, so that he might supply them, which he would be glad to do at his own expense. Then he asked the two religious to pardon him for any omissions or shortcomings on his part, for he wished that he had been able to do for us all that his desire and veneration dictated. This we experienced during the journey, and being grateful, we offered to commend him to God and pray that He remunerate him for the good which he had done to our persons and the common welfare of the pueblos, where he worked with zeal for the greater service of both Majesties. The Sergeant continued in the manner I have certified on the return trip from the juncture of said rivers to this Real of San Francisco de Cuéllar, where we arrived in peace and with pleasure, without suffering the slightest disturbance during the journey. In order that this shall be acceptable to our King and Master (may God grant him a long life) and his Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, I do certify and sign my name in this Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar, on this the 11th day of June, 1715.

Fray Joseph de Arránegui

I, Sergeant Major Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, Chief Constable of the Holy Inquisition, resident and miner in this Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar, and acting Lieutenant Captain General of its frontiers, etc., declare that the Reverend Fa-

ther and Preacher, Fray Joseph de Arránegui of the Order of Our Father St. Francis, Commissary of the Holy Inquisition, Adjutant General of the Custodia of the Province of New Mexico. delivered to me on April 1, of this year, 1715, a sealed letter from His Excellency, Duque de Linares, Viceroy, Captain and Governor General of New Spain, the substance of which, to the letter is as follows:

"The religious, who will place this in your hands, are going, at my request, to that territory to visit the Indians of La Junta de los Rios. You should not only help them and supply them with whatever they may need, but you should show your favor by accompanying them to the place where the Indians reside, this being a work in my estimation of great service to God and his Majesty. I trust to your zeal for its accomplishment and request that you send me a detailed report of whatever you learn both as to the character of the Indians and as to the land, that in view of this I may adopt the measures deemed most convenient. (May God keep you many years). Mexico, October 24, 1714. Duque de Linares to the Sergeant Major Don Antonio de Trasviña Retis."

In obedience to this superior order, I then proceeded to provide, at my own expense, the necessary supplies and other necessities for thirty men equipped with offensive and defensive arms and twenty Indian auxiliaries with their chiefs from the Pueblos of San Antonio de Julimes, San Pablo, Santa Cruz and San Pedro de Conchos, under the command of Don Antonio de la Cruz, general of the four pueblos. He is known to Colonel Juan Joseph Masoni for his courage, extreme loyalty and valor, and the great following he has among the Indians of La Junta, of which he is a native. These Indian auxiliaries and Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain are to be incorporated with the twenty soldiers of the Presidio of Conchos, whom the Governor and Captain General of this kingdom furnished as soon as the said Father Adjutant requested it of him to convoy the said religious. This number seemed sufficient, considering [the character] of the Indians at La Junta.

But in the country that lies between this Real and the said Junta, where lies a good part of the road we would necessarily have to follow, are found the crossings, entrances, and exits of the hostile Indians, who oftentimes reside there, such as the Sinsibles, Chisos, Chinarras, Cocoyames, and Acocolames. I deemed it necessary, therefore, in order to safeguard the persons of the

said religious, their own lives and mine from any evil intent of the said enemies to carry at my cost the additional thirty men and twenty Indians, with the requisite number of servants for fifty pack animals to conduct the foodstuffs and supplies for my party and the religious, making a total of sixty persons, without including the missionaries. Finding that I had all that was necessary to execute that which was ordered by Your Excellency, the Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, Knight of the Order of Santiago, solicitous for the best success of the enterprise, sent me the title of Lieutenant Captain General, so that during this journey I should command the soldiers as such, and wherever it might later be necessary and convenient for the royal service. Having ordered Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain and the two priests that were in his presidio, those who had come assigned to the new missions, to go on to the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes in order that we might be incorporated and there to proceed to La Junta de los Rios, and having been informed that said captain would arrive on May 23 at the place indicated, I left on this day from this Real, taking in my company the Reverend Fathers Fray Joseph de Arránegui and Fray Andrés Ramírez. The record of the journey and the places visited are as follows:

On Thursday, May 23, I left the Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar at about four o'clock in the morning, and at noon I had lunch with the two priests on a spring at the mouth of the river called Julimes, which is eight leagues from where I started. In the afternoon of the same day I traveled with the said priests, soldiers, and the entire convoy to a place where there was another spring of water and advanced twelve leagues during the entire day. Here we spent the night, in testimony whereof I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Friday, May 24. In the morning we left the above-mentioned place of Bachimba for the Pueblo and Mission of San Antonio de Julimes, a distance of five leagues, where I found Captain Joseph de Beasoain with twenty soldiers and the two priests who are to establish the missions at La Junta de los Rios, who joined us here. We continued throughout the day in good order to the first crossing of the Conchos River, where we spent the night. We traveled seven leagues, which added to the five traveled to

the mission, made a total of twelve for the day. The country was open but exposed to the enemy. To this I sign.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Saturday, May 25. We left said first crossing of the Conchos River after noon, when the drove of pack animals and the drove of horses, which had been separated from us the two previous days, arrived, and we traveled seven leagues to El Alamo where we stopped that night, because there I found a small spring of water sufficient for human needs only, and I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Sunday, May 26. Mass was celebrated in the said place of El Alamo by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez and it was heard by all the people. We then traveled to a marsh with springs. This place is useless, there being not an atom of ground that could be irrigated with the water of the springs, because it follows a ledge along sterile hills. Having crossed a sharp ridge half a league after we left the marshes, which is very difficult to defend from the enemy, because of its narrow extent and the great number of boulders, we arrived at this place of Las Chorreras at about eight o'clock in the morning and spent the day here till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when I continued the journey to the waterhole of Las Sauces, where I arrived at about eight o'clock that night, the whole party having traveled twelve leagues this day, morning and afternoon, crossing the range between Las Chorreras and Las Sauces, which is more than a league of climbing up and down and very rough going with many obstacles, so that men on horseback can hardly get through except for two ledges used to descend, where it is necessary to go in single file. In testimony, I sign.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Monday, May 27. I traveled from Las Sauces to meet the Conchos River again, a distance of five leagues, over pleasant country, through groves of trees and through meadows on either bank, most of the country being hills that are unproductive except for cattle, without any other water than the river. I spent the whole day at the Conchos River so that the pack animals and the drove of horses might rest. I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Tuesday, May 28. I started downstream and stopped at about nine o'clock in the morning on the said river at the place called Santa Cruz, which was an Indian pueblo of the Auchane nation, who are now incorporated in the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes. That afternoon I traveled as far as the water hole of Los Mimbres, formed by an arroyo whose course runs for a gunshot's distance. I spent the night here, having traveled eight leagues this day without accident. I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Wednesday, May 29. During the morning I traveled from Los Mimbres to the Pueblo of San Pedro, where the Cholome Indians live on the edge of said Conchos River. They are the most Christianized and civilized, and they are in the habit of going to the estates of General Don Juan Cortés del Rey, a Knight of the Order of Santiago, to work. These Indians had built arches, came out to receive me, gave me the oath of obedience with all loyalty, and regaled me with string beans from their gardens. They had nearly ripe wheat, corn with ears in abundance, and likewise they had fields planted with watermelons and pumpkins not yet ready to eat. I stayed in said pueblo until evening, when they, aided by the Indians in my party, gave me fish which they caught in the river. The lieutenant of the said pueblo is Don Santiago el Torito [Little Bull]. Having shown them much gratitude and explained through the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Ramírez, how I was going to take the two priests that were being sent by his Excellency, the Viceroy, to the Indians who live in the eight pueblos of La Junta de los Rios, they were very happy. The said Don Santiago offered to see the general of all the Cholomes, who is Don Andrés Coyame, who with some other people lives in a cienega [moor] two leagues distant, but who is now at the home of Don Juan Cortés, where said Don Santiago was on the point of going with some people to cut the said Cortés' wheat, and on arriving there he [Santiago] would speak to the said general, so that they would be given priests who would minister to them, and he [Santiago] would notify me. Then I gave them some meat I had with me and two bundles of tobacco, which pleased them very much. The lieutenant counted all the people of this pueblo, men, women and children, and he gave me the number as one hundred and ninety persons. On the afternoon of said day I traveled from this pueblo to another called El Cuchillo Parado which is now called Nuestra Señora de Begoña,

where Indians of the eight pueblos of La Junta live, who, notified by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez, came out to receive me with much joy. They gave the oath of obedience, kissing the robe of the Fathers of St. Francis. They had many arches along the road. I spent the night in this pueblo. They had much wheat ready to cut and other grain as already indicated, of which they gave me with great liberality of those which were edible, showing much joy because the priests were being taken to their relatives at La Junta. They, though few in number, would also like to maintain priests who would minister to them. In the meantime, while priests are being sent by His Excellency to them they would go to La Junta, so that they might be ministered to by the priests who are coming to live there. Having some worn-out horses and mules, I decided to order that they be left in the care of the said Indians, which was done, leaving also twelve loads of supplies, flour, meat, and biscuit for the return trip from La Junta so as not to carry this load both ways. I had the food put in one of the few houses of the pueblo that had doors like a presidio, facing the church, at a distance of one hundred paces from the village. The people were counted and there were twenty-four persons. Having traveled twelve leagues today, the facts were properly set down and signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Thursday, May 30. The day of the Ascension of Our Lord, Mass was said by Father Fray Gregorio Osorio, which was heard by all the people. I then left the said pueblo and after crossing a rough ridge at about half a league, I arrived at the foot of the Cuesta Grande [high cliff] and the range that has to be crossed in order to see the pueblos at La Junta on the banks of the Conchos River. Here I stopped that night, having traveled about five leagues. Since there was nothing else worthy of record, I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Friday, May 31. I started at daybreak from the foot of the Cuesta Grande and traveled to the first of the eight pueblos, of which I had been informed by the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Ramírez. This first pueblo is called El Mesquite, but I named it Nuestra Señora de Loreto in honor of her saintly image which I carried as guide and patron of the journey. On this trip we crossed a very high range entering through a canyon about two

leagues long. In order to proceed I had Indians breaking and moving boulders. From the top is seen all the valley of La Junta de los Rios. Because of the roughness of the passage only twelve leagues were traveled today. The Indians of all the pueblos came out to receive me, having built arches along the road. They gave the oath of obedience and kissed the hands of the priests.

I spent the rest of the day in the pueblo. The people who live in it were counted and there were eighty persons of all ages. The land in the valley of the Conchos River, on both sides, is open and rolling, having mountains in the background. They have much wheat, corn, and legumes planted in irrigated fields. The pueblo, with its plaza in the middle, is well fenced with a wall. Its houses and portals have thin walls and roof-beams of sycamore, because no other wood is found along the river. Since there was nothing else to record today, I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Saturday, June 1. I left said first pueblo, Nuestra Señora de Loreto, traveling downstream on the banks of the Conchos River, seeing fields of wheat, corn and other grains on both banks of this river. In one league I arrived at the Indian pueblo of the Cacalote nation, which I named San Juan Bautista. It is fenced and has its plaza in the middle, upon which the houses face, where the inhabitants, having put up arches, received me. I ordered the governor, the captains and the cacique to count the people of the said pueblo by families and having executed the order punctually, they brought me the number of one hundred and sixty-five persons, young and old. I gave orders that the next day, Sunday, they should all go down to the pueblo of La Junta de los Rios called San Francisco to attend Mass. This would be said by the priests there, as that place would be made the headquarters for La Junta, because it is in the center of the eight pueblos. Having made this provision, I proceeded to and arrived at the said Pueblo of San Francisco de La Junta at about nine o'clock in the morning, having traveled about four leagues down through the open valley of the Conchos River. Many Indians of all the pueblos came out to receive me with their governors, captains, and with their flags of peace. They were in military formation and orderly lines along the entrance to the said pueblo. They had many arches built and even the women and children made many demonstrations of joy, all being in lines on either side of the entrance to the pueblo, where I stopped. They all

gathered around me with rejoicing when I dismounted from my horse and gave the oath of obedience. I immediately told the governors that I did not want to stay in the pueblo, as the soldiers and others of the party would cause them inconvenience and, as I had no intention of harming them, that I would put up my tents at a distance from the pueblo. To all of this plan the governor of the pueblo, Don Pascual de Orthega replied, thanking me and saying that it was not necessary [to encamp] as the Pueblo of San Francisco is divided into three settlements, separated about three hundred yards from each other, and that he had retired all of his people to the two outside settlements leaving the one in the middle free and unencumbered for me, where I could stop with the entire company, which I did, thanking him for his kindly arrangements. I ordered the corporals to instruct the soldiers that they were not to go to the pueblos except in my company and that those contravening this order would be punished in military fashion. With this arrangement the day passed, in witness whereof I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Sunday, June 2. All the people from the eight pueblos congregated to hear Mass. Three were said. To the last of these celebrations all the governors, captains, caciques, and chiefs of the said pueblos came, stopping by the house where I was to accompany them in good comradeship to the church. After they had heard the last Mass said by the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Ramírez, they all returned to the pueblo, and I spoke to them. I reminded them that many times they had asked Father Ramírez on the three occasions when he had come to that country, if he would write and ask His Excellency, the Viceroy, to send priests to minister to them, which he had done. His Excellency, in his zeal, gave immediate attention to the letter and promptly sent them two missionaries of the Order of Our Father St. Francis whom, by the order of His Excellency, I had brought with the intention that they should remain to minister to them. They understood that they were to comply with Christian obligations and obey and help the priests, living in obedience to our Catholic King, executing his orders and those issued by the priests, their ministers. I told them these and other things conducive to this end in the Castilian language, which was understood by many who were versed in Spanish. When the speech was concluded, the priest explained it in their own language, so

that it would be understood by all. General Don Antonio de la Cruz, Governor of San Antonio de Julimes, understood, agreed, and was satisfied. He replied that they were very grateful to the priest for the good he had done for them in writing to His Excellency, the Viceroy, so that he would send priests to minister to them and that they would comply with the Christian obligations, and be loyal vassals of His Majesty. Then we left the church. The said Indians as well as the four priests accompanied me to the house along with the captain of the Conchos all of whom had congregated to hear Mass. After arriving at the house, I told them my purpose in coming through General Don Antonio de la Cruz, who understands both the Castilian language and that of the Indians, because he is a native of that nation. I charged them, in the most agreeable and efficacious manner I could employ, with the duties that seemed to me the most conducive to success in securing the foundation of those missions and the spread of the Holy Gospel. I reminded them of the trip they took to the Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar to see Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, who was then officer acting for His Excellency, the Viceroy, in said mining and presidial camp, whom the Indians asked in my presence with much insistence to help them, asking that His Excellency would send teaching priests to them so that they could live like Christians. To this the said Colonel Masoni listened with zeal, much care and commiseration, and offered to present their request to His Excellency. This promise was executed, in which he begged the Provincial Superior of the Franciscans of Zacatecas to give permission and an order to the above-mentioned priest, Father Fray Andrés Ramírez to enter La Junta de los Rios, where he had been on previous occasions, to inform him whether the said Indians were firm in their intentions. This was done by the said Father Fray Andrés Ramírez and he gave an account by letter, which was received by said Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, who forwarded it with a representation and a memorial to His Excellency Duque de Linares, Viceroy of New Spain, on May 30, 1713. [This transmittal of documents] in effect was the beginning [of these relations], and has resulted in this expedition. His Excellency ordered me to help the priests in all that they needed, to accompany them to this place, and to make for him a complete report on the contact with the Indians and the country, in view of which he might administer whatever might be convenient for the provinces. I likewise recalled to them how the

said Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni had regaled them through my hand, when they went to see him at the said Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar, giving them meat, flour, and whatever was necessary to eat in that Real and that they were able to return to their pueblos, all of which [happenings] they admitted. They acknowledged the gratitude and obligation they owed to the said Colonel Masoni, because he had made their hearts happy, which is the Indian way of showing and making known their contentment. They manifested it by their actions and demonstrations of which we, the religious Fathers as well as Captain Joseph de Beasoain and I, were very proud.

We were pleased to see Indians with such good reason and so polite without having had any education and also to see them so well-dressed, men as well as women, the chiefs and their wives being outstanding with better clothes in the Spanish fashion, with shirts of fine white linen worked in silk. Some had skirts of serge, silk shawls, Cordovan shoes, imported Brussels silk socks. I found men, women and children with good-natured, happy faces, who were very sociable with the Spaniards as they came and went all day long in the house where I was stopping; coming and going like servants with no differences and without showing the slightest action contrary to good loyalty. In order that their loyalty might be more permanent, having brought from my house and at my own expense four hundred yards of cloth and some tobacco, I divided it in good order among the governors, captains, and chiefs of these pueblos in order that they might dress themselves and their wives. I gave them also a supply of meat to divide among themselves. When all this was finished, I ordered them through said interpreter, General Don Antonio de la Cruz, to undertake soon the work of building a friary and cells, with adobe walls, for the priests before the rains should set in to prevent it. They should likewise repair the churches for the present, so that they would not leak when it rains, and that they should build churches of such size as was required by the number of people in each pueblo with all the decency that the territory and their ability would permit, so that they could hear Mass and receive the Holy Sacraments, all of which they promised to execute to the satisfaction of the priests. They begged me to prevail upon you to continue to help and protect them by sending two more missionaries for the four pueblos which are in the other section of La Junta at a distance of two leagues and that Your Excellency would provide them with the customary ornaments

for the establishment of new missions: bells and other usual adornments for the churches of the eight pueblos. Moreover, they ask of your greatness to send an iron bar, so that they will be able to open ditches and take water out of the rivers in order to irrigate [the land], some plowshares to till the soil, and some pickaxes and hoes. Their means will not permit them to purchase these things. In order to buy clothes, they travel more than one hundred thirty leagues at the risk of meeting enemies to work on the farm estates of San Bartolomé Valley. These trials I make known to you as proof of the loyalty and fine spirit in which they have always lived, the perseverance they manifest, and the good order that obtains in the pueblos, as has been described. The many fields of wheat, corn, and other grains which they have in the valleys of these rivers, and the crops they are getting ready to plant on the banks of the Rio del Norte, as soon as the crest lowers, which is now carrying the water of the snow that is being melted by the heat in the North, I saw and examined today with great pleasure while passing through the said valleys. The land is very suitable and fertile for crops and there are many groves of trees with thick foliage; sycamore, willow, and tamarisk on the banks of the river and on the little islands. To visit the pueblos and their crops on the other bank, which could already be seen in major part, I ordered the said Indian governors to make a raft on which to cross over tomorrow, Monday, and that today they should count the Indians in this Pueblo of San Francisco and in that of the Conejo nation, which is on this bank on the edge of the river that comes from the north at about one and one-half leagues from La Junta, and we named it Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu. They executed my order and in the evening of this day they brought me the number of this Pueblo of San Francisco which has one hundred eighty persons, young and old, and that of Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu, seventy-one persons. With these duties this day passed. The evening was occupied by the priests, who came to found these missions and who are Fathers Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García. They baptized fourteen children in the presence of myself, the Captain of Conchos and the soldiers. The godfathers were the said captain as well as some of the soldiers, who were invited by the parents of the children. All these events here related having taken place, today we stopped, because of the setting sun, and thus, because this record is the truth, I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Monday, June 3. In the morning said Indians advised me that they had made the boat which I had ordered them to construct the night before, and I went down to cross over to the other side, taking in my company the priests, the Captain of Conchos and twenty-five soldiers, leaving the rest and the cavalcade in the Real. The priests, the captains, and I crossed over on the raft and the soldiers went on horseback. Without accident we arrived at the Pueblo of the Polacmes and Sibulas. The latter, which is the largest of the eight pueblos of this valley, we named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Having counted the people of this pueblo, we learned that there were five hundred and fifty persons, young and old, and we found that it was well built with two plazas dividing the two nations, which are united for purposes of mutual defense from the enemies that have attacked them from time to time, because the former did not care to admit the assemblies of these hostile Indians to go with them up into the mountains. This can all be verified by General Don Antonio de la Cruz of the Pueblo of Julimes, who has given them help, having been notified by runners, by means of which they had maintained themselves without admitting the evil assemblies of the enemies and without help from the Spaniards, which proves their constancy to the Catholic Faith.

About a league farther down, on the banks of La Junta de los Rios, there are three pueblos close together and in the same form as the rest. The first is that of the Puliques, which I named Señor San José and which has ninety-two persons, young and old, and the next is that of the Conchos which I named San Antonio de Padua and which has eighty-seven people, young and old; the last one which was named San Cristóbal is that of the Poxalmas and numbers one hundred and eighty inhabitants, young and old.

The governors counted [the people] in this and all the other pueblos and added to the number eighty persons who are working in the Valley of San Bartolomé and whom I ordered the said governors to bring back along with the Indians that were about to go to the wheat harvest. So that this could be carried out without embarrassment to a single person I gave them a letter of supplication for the Governor and Captain General of this kingdom in which I asked him to order it thus, so that they would return to their pueblos and see their teaching ministers and so that the people of each pueblo could be registered with due care. Having added the people counted in the eight pueblos on either bank at

La Junta de los Rios, it seems that there are one thousand four hundred and five persons, not counting the Cholomes of the Pueblo of San Pedro, which has one hundred and ninty persons and those of the same nation which live in the Cienega of Coyame on the estate of General Don Juan Cortés del Rey, nor the forty-four persons of the Conejo nation, who live in the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado. Through the interpreter, Don Antonio de la Cruz, I repeated in all the pueblos what was said the day before regarding their obligation to live good Christian lives, to die in the Faith of Jesus Christ and that of our Catholic King, and to be loyal vassals. They promised to comply with this advice and were very happy. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, I returned to the Real de San Francisco in the company of all those who had gone with me and I stopped here, having spent the day in these duties, and this testimony being the truth, I signed it:

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Tuesday, June 4. I spent the entire day in said pueblo, where I set up camp, and sent a call to all the governors and to the oldest and most expert Indians, who, being all assembled, I questioned them again and again through the interpreter, General Antonio de la Cruz, regarding information about the Colorado River as well as the Pearl Sea or Pearl Lake, which was mentioned in a letter to Colonel Don Juan José Masoni by Reverend Father Andrés Ramírez as having been reported by an Apache Indian, whom he baptized and who reported said lake to be six days' travel from La Junta. The most experienced Indians replied that no one from those pueblos had been there or to a similar place and that they had heard of it only from the said Apache, whom they had taken to be their friend. He promised them that when teaching missionaries should come to these pueblos, he would bring all the people of his ranchería, which are about sixty families above and below La Junta, so that they should all be catechized and baptized. Failure to notify the said Apache that His Excellency was sending the religious, was due to knowledge that there was smallpox on his ranchería and that care should be taken not to contract the disease. When he comes, as he is in the habit of doing, they will send him to me with an interpreter so that I may question him. Likewise I asked them, if they know how far it is from La Junta to El Paso del Río del Norte; from the Indian manner of using days to indicate dis-

tance I concluded that it is seventy leagues, more or less. They have heard that between here and there, along the banks of the Rio del Norte, there are rancherías of heathen and apostate Indians of the Suma, Cholome, Chinarra and Totame nations, who steal horses and commit other hostilities at El Paso del Rio del Norte and at the farms around Chihuahua, San Buenaventura and other places. Likewise I asked them if they know how far it is from this place to Coahuila and to Parras, but no one could tell, because they had not been over the country. Only because they had been there, could they tell me about the springs and the ranges, where the Cocoyames, Acolames, Sinsibles and Chisos usually live, telling me that to the south of La Junta de los Rios there is the cliff of Santa Marta where they fought with the Chisos, when the Governor of this kingdom, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas came; again on another occasion, they joined with Captain Juan de Retana. On all of these occurrences the people from these pueblos accompanied the soldiers. They fought the enemy at the said cliff frequently, at the Sierra de Taque and in the places called Encinillas, Conula and Bapagua, the nearest of which is at a distance of thirty leagues. Each of these places has its springs of water, but it is not known at present whether the hostile nations are to be found in one of these places or somewhere else. Seeing that they knew nothing else worth inquiring about, I determined to leave the next day, Wednesday, for home, since I had nothing else to do or to advise. With this resolution, I asked Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García, whether they were satisfied with what had been done and ordered among the Indians, and whether they stayed in the said place with pleasure and without regret to establish the missions and minister to those natives. They should tell me if there was anything lacking, and if they did not have it, they should ask for whatever they needed, as I would leave them some part of whatever I had, and if they should still lack something, I would send it from my house, for which purpose some Indians of said pueblos would come with me. Thus, for the present as well as in the interim in which, with the news of this result, Your Excellency is granting the most convenient provisions, I will give without reserve whatever they need as Your Excellency ordered me. Being satisfied, they were to present me with a certificate signed by their hands as evidence that I had complied with the mandate of the Most Excellent Viceroy. The said religious being very happy and full of zeal and hope for their work of gathering much

fruit in those pueblos, determined, for the present, to remain together in this Pueblo of San Francisco and from there to minister to all of the pueblos. It seemed agreeable for each [of the pueblos] to bring to the said priests two boys, ten years of age or less, who should live with these Fathers so that the latter might teach them Christian doctrine, after which, in the absence of priests in their pueblos, they could teach [the doctrine] to the rest in the meanwhile until the arrival of the necessary priests for said pueblos. With this disposition, having given them as much as they asked of flour, meat, soap, lard, tobacco, powders, paper, and a bottle of wine with which to say Mass, and six pounds of wax, they gave me the certificate which is attached to this account together with that which was given to me by the Reverend Father Fray Joseph de Arránegui, Commissary of the Holy Office and Procurator of the Custody of New Mexico, as a witness. All of this has been related to his satisfaction as ordered by the very Reverend Father Commissary General of St. Francis for this purpose, and being the truth, I signed it.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Wednesday, June 5. Having taken leave of the said religious, I left this pueblo of La Junta in the morning accompanied by Fathers Fray Joseph de Arránegui and Fray Andrés Ramírez and Captain Joseph de Beasoain. We traveled with the entire train to the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, where we ate and took the siesta [and then went on] to La Sierra where we spent the night having traveled eight leagues this day. The captains and governors of said pueblos went with me on my departure as far as the said place, sending in my company eight Indians of the pueblos in order that they might bring back thirty-five capon sheep and six goats with kids, which it was necessary to send to the above-mentioned priests who remained, as there was no kind of cattle in all the pueblos; in witness whereof, I signed the record,

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Thursday, June 6. I left said place at the foot of La Sierra and La Cruz with the entire train and arrived at the banks of the Conchos River on the other side of La Sierra at about nine o'clock in the morning. Having eaten and taken the siesta in the said place, I traveled during the afternoon to the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado where I had left, on the

way out, the twelve loads of supplies and the worn-out horses and mules. I found the latter had been well cared for and were lacking in nothing. In recompense for their loyalty, I thanked the people and gave them a portion of meat of about one hundred fifty pounds for all of the Indians of the pueblo to eat and two bundles of tobacco. I spent the night in this pueblo; with nothing more noteworthy for record, in witness whereof I signed it:

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Friday, June 7. I left said pueblo going through the same places as were seen on the journey out to La Junta de los Rios, traveling in good order in the company of the two aforementioned religious and the Captain of the Conchos to the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes, where we arrived at ten o'clock in the morning, at which time said Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain with his twenty soldiers departed for their presidio and Father Fray Andrés Ramírez went in his company. I proceeded, taking in my company the priest Fray Joseph de Arránegui, and having this day sent back the eight Indians of La Junta de los Rios with the thirty-five sheep and six goats, which I bought from Captain Juan de Sosa, I arrived at San Gerónimo River where I spent the night. The next day, which was the last day of Pentecost, I reached home with the thirty soldiers, which I took at my own expense, and the twenty Indians with their General Don Antonio de la Cruz, paying them, each and every one in cash, as they had all complied with their orders punctually, and having concluded the mandate and completed all that was ordered by Your Excellency, the said soldiers left this day very contented, leaving me in my home. This being the truth, I signed it:

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Up to this point is the description of the journey and what was seen of the territory. Its climate is pleasant and temperate and the valleys of the rivers are very fertile. There are places on both banks of the streams well suited to the raising of cattle and horses, with the running springs that were mentioned in the description of the ninety-one league journey over the route which I was forced to travel in the summer season. The distance between water holes prevented me from going by either one of the two roads that lead from this Real to La Junta, one called the Valley of Santa Clara and the other Sierra de los Ormigas, both of which lead straight to the Cienega of Coyame. I am informed

that it is open country and that the distance from this said Real to La Junta is sixty leagues and that there are two stretches of between fifteen and twenty leagues in which there is no water, for which reason this route can be traveled only by going light or during the rainy season. From what I have seen, it seems to me that said missions will probably be maintained without Spanish settlers, because the territory is suitable only for farming and cattle raising, as there is no forest or woods between this Real and La Junta and for many leagues beyond and on either side, according to information I acquired from the natives and other persons who have been there on occasional campaigns. Lacking in timber, it is not possible to establish mining towns, which are the villages that support this kingdom, but these new missions can remain and maintain themselves very well with fruit and the fish of the rivers and with them be of great assistance to this Real. Establishing more solidly the two missions of the Cienega, the one of Coyame named Santiago and the other in the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado, which are within two leagues' travel, and the other Pueblo of San Pedro which is at another two leagues' distance and forty leagues from this Real, the said three pueblos can be ministered conveniently by two religious. This [arrangement] seems to me to be very necessary and convenient, since they are twenty leagues closer to this Real and on the route over which it is necessary to travel to the missions of La Junta de los Rios. In consideration of this, as soon as I reached this Real, I wrote General Don Juan Cortés del Rey, Knight of the Order of Santiago, because the above-mentioned Don Andrés Coyame, General of the Cholomes was there with people whom he had taken there from his pueblo for the harvest of the said Cortés' wheat. The said Cortés, with zeal, and through an interpreter, explained to the said Coyame and such of his people as were present, the context of my letter in the presence of Father Fray Raymundo Gras, one of the three, who by order of Your Excellency, came for this new foundation and because of illness was not able to go with me. The latter is now well and only waiting for the wagons to go to the missions of La Junta, being greatly consoled on having heard of the intention of the said Coyame, all of which will be seen in the reply from the said General Don Juan Cortés. The latter letter is enclosed as proof for Your Excellency, that the missions that are proposed and for which religious are asked to minister along with the eight of La Junta de los Rios,

require three more religious besides the three that are here, so that they can comfortably minister the eleven above-mentioned pueblos dividing the religious between them as follows: Two in the Cienega of Coyame and the Cuchillo Parado; two in the four pueblos on this bank of La Junta de los Rios and the last two should minister the four pueblos that are founded in the other part of La Junta, two leagues distant. It seems sufficient for the present to provide this number of religious for the establishment and foundation. Calling to the attention of Your Excellency, that besides the ornaments for the churches of all these pueblos, it will be necessary to send cattle and sheep to these priests, which they can raise for their permanent support. A hundred head of cattle and another hundred head of sheep, well cared for, would seem to be enough for each pueblo. The principal [herds and flocks] can be preserved and the increase can be used for their support, giving some to the Indians on occasion of titular feasts of the pueblos and other functions as is the custom of the Missionary Fathers.

A few days after returning here from La Junta de los Rios, Captain Don Pedro with forty Indians came from there *en route* to the wheat harvest on the farms of San Bartolomé Valley. He brought me a letter from Father Fray Gregorio Osorio, the original of which I enclose with its inventory, as a witness for Your Excellency that the said priests are having no difficulties with the Indians. I sent them immediately all that they asked for, as I shall do in all that is necessary, until the arrival of the wagons in which their allowance is being brought, as I was ordered by Your Excellency. Captain Don Pedro gave me news that the Apache Indian, who was baptized by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez and who named Don Antonio de la Cruz, the General of Julimes Pueblo of La Junta de los Rios for his godfather, came [to that place], for he learned that I had conducted the Fathers there. But he arrived too late. He, therefore, told the Indians of La Junta to advise me that he would come to this Real as soon as he returns from the Colorado River, where he went to get information for me about that and other places. The result of this investigation, if the occasion should arise, I will take care to forward to Your Excellency, to whose piety I appeal in behalf of the welfare of these unfortunate natives of La Junta. It seems that they should be relieved of the necessity of working on the farms of San Bartolomé Valley, which are being given people by the Governor. Let those of La Junta come to this Real, where

they would be saved half of the journey and the greater part of the risk of enemies. With regard to this matter, Your Excellency might order whatever is most convenient, maintaining the status quo of the Cholomes, who work on the estate of General Don Juan Cortés, whose farms are closer than those referred to in the valley.

It also seems necessary that I tell Your Excellency about having virtually seen and verified all that was related by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez to Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, and in witness of his prelates. So that any other opinion that might be held will be banished, I, as well as the said priest and the Father and Commissary of the Holy Office, Fray Joseph de Arránegui and the two who remained in La Junta de los Rios, verify all the journey and what they said regarding the conditions. They have labored like true religious of Our Father St. Francis and are worthy of better employment.

It also seems obligatory on my part to advise Your Excellency of the loyalty, valor and other prerogatives of Don Antonio de la Cruz, Indian Governor of the Pueblo of San Antonio of Julimes, whose deeds are meritorious and who is a native of La Junta de los Rios and has co-operated with great zeal in the founding of these missions, as will be seen in the certificate given to said General by the said Father Fray Andrés Ramírez. The letter repeats the fact that the new Christianity had effect only because he added the valor and vigilance with which he defended his pueblo, which is on the frontier, from the hostile Indians, and brings the assistance for which he is asked from time to time by the Indians of the north and the Spaniards who have country estates in the immediate jurisdiction of his pueblo, all of which I have witnessed for eight years in this section since I began to settle this Real. Said Indian is capable, knows how to read and write and deserves to be favored by Your Excellency's greatness as he was by Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, when he was in this Real, having experienced the loyalty of said General Don Antonio de la Cruz, whose titles and certificates I sent to that court, so that they might be presented with a memorial to Your Excellency. If these things seem worthy to the royal service, and Your Excellency would have the title of General of all the pueblos of the new foundation sent to him, I am sure he will govern and control them with good policy. He might be assigned a salary of three hundred grains out of the six thousand grains which his Majesty allows this kingdom each year for the expenses of war

and peace. With this salary said General will be able to maintain horses for the functions of and visits to the pueblos. Regarding this and all other things, Your Excellency will determine with Catholic zeal whatever is most convenient. Having no further news to place at the disposal of the high understanding of Your Excellency regarding the detailed account which was ordered, I conclude, sending this carrier, who is Francisco Calderón, one of the soldiers who made this journey at my expense, whom I hope will bring news that what has been done is pleasing to Your Excellency.

In all humility I beg forgiveness of Your Excellency's greatness for any defects there may be in the execution of the orders, as my desire has been to serve Your Excellency with my person as a loyal vassal of Your Majesty and with fervent zeal. The expenses I have sustained and accounted amount to six thousand grains and it would be the greatest pleasure to me, if they were accepted by Your Excellency in the service of our King and Master (may God protect him) as well as the service of settling and founding this Real even though this act may be contrary to the advice of all the people of the kingdom. I have maintained myself at my own expense, until the mines began to produce good supplies of silver. This [country] has been the continual habitat of hostile Indians for about two years. This Real has increased in population every day of the eight years I have lived in it, so that today it is one of the best and most opulent Reales de Minas in all New Spain. According to the location and veins of metals, these mines seem by nature inexhaustible, a verification of which, by one who has seen them, was sent to me by Colonel Don Juan José Masoni. He will also tell how the parochial church was built in this Real at my expense and whose titular patron saints, named by the Governor of this kingdom, are Nuestra Señora de Regla and San Francisco de Cuéllar. The church is thirty-seven *varas* long with a transept, sacristy and baptistry, and a chapel for the Santo Cristo de Mapimí, with all the ornaments, sacred vases, lamp and adornments which have cost me eighteen hundred grains. I caused to be placed in the principal door the Royal Coat of Arms which I revere as a loyal vassal of Your Excellency.

I allege, for merit, how I tithe each year from the silver which my mines produce; how I receive from each of my estates from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand marcs; and being now at the age of fifty-three, having labored with not too good health for horseback travel or to execute other activities involving per-

sonal exertion, I am constrained to beg, at the feet of Your Excellency, that I be relieved of any other journeys and granted permission to retire to the tranquillity of my home and family, where I will be praying the Divine Majesty to guard the very important person of Your Excellency and Greatness as the guardian of these kingdoms, San Francisco de Cuéllar. July, 1715.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

The titles and advocations of the eleven pueblos contained in this account are as follows: Santiago Apostol de la Cienega del Coyame; San Pedro Apostol for the Cholomes on the Conchos River; Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado; Nuestra Señora de Loreto in the pueblo of the Mesquites; San Juan Bautista for the Cacalotes; San Francisco at La Junta for the Opoxmes; Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu for the Conejos; Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe for the Polacmes, and El Señor San José for the Puliques; San Antonio de Padua for the Conchos; and San Cristóbal for the Poxsalmes.

My Very Dear Sir and Friend:

Yesterday, I received the letter from Your Excellency, dated the twentieth of last month, from an Indian of the Presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, in which I obtain the news of the happy success of your trip to the Río del Norte and back, which assured the priests who remained at the missions so much pleasure, and Father Fray Raymundo Gras, who has an ardent desire to be with them, was equally well pleased. Regretting the absence of Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain, I had Andrés Coyame called, to whom I read your letter in the presence of the above-mentioned Father, who interpreted it. The first thing was to make known to said Coyame (though he is a bad man), that for my part not only the Cholomes, but all those who looked for the light of the Gospel should participate in it, even though it should cost my life. I passed from that to a determination of whether he would consent as easily as had the rest of the Indians who had asked for the priests. Having understood and considered the matter, he replied that he and all those of his followers would admit with much pleasure the priest or priests that would be sent to them and that for his part he would be quick to enjoy so much benefit, saying other things that were very much to the satisfaction of said priest, which I judge he will write to Fray Joseph de Arránegui. He will give news of his fervent resolution

to prosecute the intention, with which he came, of going to those missions to employ his recovered health in that holy exercise, as he has given me to understand.

Since it seems to me that I have replied to all that your Lordship proposed, and so that I may send this along with what I had already written to you, I close, praying Our Lord to protect you many years. Nuestra Señora del Pilar. July 1, 1715. Your faithful servant who kisses the hand of Your Excellency.

Don Juan Cortés, to Sergeant Major
Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

My Dear Sir:

I hope God was pleased to let you have a very happy trip, that you arrived home, where I hope you have recovered from the copious labors and difficulties of a journey so trying, and that you are now in good health and in the company of the lady, your wife, and the baby. I place myself at your service and kiss your hand.

I now have a terrible pain in one shoulder-blade, that is felt also in the chest, which I have had for five or six days, although it lets up at times, because God always sends illness with mercy when there is no medicine. But whatever the circumstances, I am always in your service as your dutiful chaplain and servant, my Lord, and since you are our protector, it is necessary to ask you for help in our time of need. This medicine is needed very much at present, because there is none in all the country, and I have greatly needed also some hoops for silk, because the one which you left is all that we have for everything, and they say it is not possible to make them from sycamore or willow, because these woods are too brittle. If there is sent also a little lard, we would appreciate it. You will please not be angered with us for these inconveniences, as you already understand the necessities here, all of which will be repaid to you by God Our Lord, increasing your wealth and giving you whatever is best suited to your salvation. Fray Juan sends his best regards and places himself at your service.

Up to now no evil has befallen us, thanks to God. Some adobes have been made and an oven is being constructed. Little by little all that time will permit can and will be done. That is all. May God protect you many years and fill you with happiness for this your Mission of San Francisco de la Junta. June 17, 1715. Your

most dutiful chaplain and servant, who kisses your hand.

Fray Gregorio Osorio to Sergeant Major and Lieutenant General Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Sergeant Major and Lieutenant Major
Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Dear Sir:

After closing the letter I am writing, it occurred to me to make known a necessity that had escaped my memory. Trusting in the charity we merit from you, we need some peas and butter-beans to plant as there are none here, and some garden seeds and one copy of Father Castaño's *Doctrinas*. In God's love you will suffer the impertinences of your children like a father. Maintain this establishment as the first stone of the foundation would and God will repay you one hundred fold. May His Majesty keep you many years in this your mission. June 17, 1715. Your most affectionate chaplain and servant, who kisses the hand of Your Excellency.

Fray Gregorio Osorio

It was added to the letter from the original, which I sent to Your Excellency, in witness whereof I signed it in San Francisco de Cuéllar July 12, 1715.

Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis
Fray Joseph de Arránegui

Translated by

REGINALD C. REINDORP

# Notes and Comment

## THE LA SALLE MISSIONS

At this time last year, two delegations, one from France and one from Canada, came to this country to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Robert Cavelier de la Salle, assassinated near Navasota, Texas, March 19, 1687. The addresses made en route are now published. The Historical Society of Montreal printed some of those made by its members in a brochure, *La Mission Canadienne Cavelier de la Salle*, while the French mission came out with *Louisiane et Texas* in the *Cahiers de Politique Etrangère*. The latter is divided into three parts: "Le Passé," "Le Présent," and "Impressions de voyage." This note is not concerned with the last two divisions. Organized by the Committee "France-Amérique," the delegates took the occasion as a way toward fostering friendly relations by means of intellectual rapprochement. It was a good will tour, one of the "best means to prevent misunderstanding between two great nations, the United States and France," and the mission became somewhat of a crusade. The orators pleaded for a revival of French culture, civilization, and language among the descendants of the French pioneers of Louisiana. Causes for the decline of the French language in the southern state were examined; remedies were suggested to prevent its deterioration and to avert its final disappearance. Highly praised were those good laborers "who devote themselves to spread the kingdom of His Majesty, the French language." There was no question, the orators emphatically asserted, of superseding the indigenous Anglo-American culture, but rather of effecting a fusion of both French and American civilization. It is not impossible for the Louisianians, so it was said, to be sincerely loyal to the United States and at the same time to be loyal to "the traditions of their French ancestors."

Besides expressing such hopes, aims, and ideals, the "missions" avowedly intended to recount certain phases of La Salle's adventurous career, and hence the printed work is open to criticism by historians. Historical accuracy may not have been expected in the rhetorical compositions, but, lest silence be interpreted as approval, certain assertions must be rectified, especially those for which there is no foundation in fact, and one whole speech which attempts to launch a new legend. The students of the history of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley in this country will not be taken off guard; in France, however, and where the French language is spoken, the works of Gabriel Gravier are still, if de Villiers is correct, the principal source which supplies documentation for the La Salle journeys. It is to be regretted that the orators did not consult the findings of American scholars for information. If rumor is to be believed, one of the delegates was unaware of the assassination of La Salle, until the mission reached Chicago.

Skipping through the French publication, one may review La Salle's life in a series of errors. Repeated is the amazing statement of Hennepin that the explorer during his Jesuit days never committed a venial sin. The

early explorations of La Salle, his linguistic achievements, his gifts of oratory, the great number of Indians gathered around Fort St. Louis, are given as facts. Beaujeu remains the villain of the drama on the Gulf Coast. The reprint of an address from the Canadian brochure deals with the Sulpician companions of La Salle on his last journey, namely, MM. Chefdeville, d'Esmanville, and Jean Cavelier, La Salle's own brother. It is a panegyric of the last named, abounding in surmises and errors. Thus, the seduction scene, found in a worthless document, is repeated; Nicholas de la Salle is termed the brother of the explorer, to whom he was not at all related; Cavelier is made not to order the sale of his brother's peltries; La Salle on his first journey from Matagorda Bay is made to reach the Mississippi and build a small fort on its banks in 1686. If the orator had not relied upon Jean Cavelier for the fictitious statements, he would not have been able to propose the question: "How did not Tonty see this little fort?" There was no fort; La Salle did not get near the Mississippi that year; a second expedition was undertaken by La Salle expressly "to find his river." Other errors follow, but what evinces complete disregard for records is the explanation advanced to cover the silence of Cavelier about the death of his brother. Father Le Jeune in his *Dictionnaire Général du Canada,* and, in the same year, de Villiers in his *Expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique,* said silence was maintained because Cavelier wanted "to frustrate the creditors" of his brother. Neither author originated the accusation; it was made by a cousin of Cavelier, François Plet. But your orator, singling out the moral cause of the disturbing silence, places the blame on—the Jesuits!

The setting was the Illinois country, where the Jesuit, Father Allouez happened to be when the survivors of the La Salle disaster, Joutel, Father Anastasius, and Jean Cavelier arrived at the fort. "Here took place a peculiar incident which would give a partial explanation for the tenacious silence of Cavelier," the orator says, referring to the uneasiness of Allouez on hearing that La Salle might soon arrive at the fort. "M. de la Roncière sets things right. Exactly informed of what had taken place on the Gulf of Mexico, the Jesuits 'had tried to pursue La Salle's enterprise. . . . They asked leave to build a ship and barks to go down the Mississippi. They pledged themselves to draw a map of the river, to describe the flora and fauna of its banks.' There was doubtless somebody at the fort to make known to M. Cavelier these fine projects, destined to complete what Father Marquette had begun. And M. Cavelier, having at heart the glory of his brother, aware that in certain circles La Salle was looked upon as a 'visionary and an impostor,' strengthened his resolve (se serait fortifié dans sa résolution) not to divulge the truth until he reached the Court." This attempt to absolve Cavelier at the expense of the Jesuits is unique as a theory, but nonsense from an historical viewpoint. If the schemes of the Jesuits caused Cavelier to conceal La Salle's death from Tonty, how is the abbé's silence after his return to France explained? Why did Jean Cavelier refuse to let Joutel go to Paris to inform Seignelay and secure help for the poor people stranded at Matagorda Bay? Why did he himself consume two months on pilgrimages and a journey instead of reporting immediately to Seignelay? The statement of the heirs of Cavelier's cousin answers all the questions. "It is affirmed in the memorial of the heirs of his cousin, François Plet, that he concealed the death of La Salle for some time after his return

to France, in order to get possession of property which would otherwise have been seized by the creditors of the deceased" (Parkman, *La Salle,* 436, note 1).

M. de la Roncière explains nothing. The quotation, for which no reference is given, is taken from his *Le Père de la Louisiane* (Tours, 1936, 116), and the inserted quotation is a summary of a document printed in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français* (II, 611-613), long ago analyzed by Parkman (*La Salle,* 433-434). But neither Parkman nor M. de la Roncière link it with the silence of Cavelier. According to Parkman, this document "was written after the return of Beaujeu to France, and before La Salle's death became known," that is, roughly, between July, 1685, and December, 1688. Internal evidence, however, makes it possible to narrow this time limit, and thus to demolish the novel theory. One paragraph reads: "Sieur de Tonty, who is in command at Fort St. Louis, went by the said river (Mississippi) to the country previously discovered by the Sieur de la Salle. If necessary his services might be asked for, all the more so since he is offering to go down to the mouth of the said river" (Margry, III, 612). The offer of Tonty here mentioned was made in Montreal in August, 1687 (Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 9:85); it reached France at the end of the year. Hence the date of the document must be some time after Tonty's offer got to Paris, or in 1688, and the contents of the document, the plan of the Jesuits in France, cannot have been known to a La Salle sympathizer at Fort St. Louis in October, 1687.

If, for the sake of argument, the document is admitted to have been written in 1685 in France, it missed the boats of that year and arrived in Canada at the earliest in September, 1686. Then it must be supposed that the Jesuits of Quebec rushed the plan to the Illinois country by some express messenger, for the regular convoys had already gone. This is absurd, but the crowning absurdity is to suppose that Allouez would on receiving the plan have communicated it to La Salle's partisans! On such assumptions the orator based the sentence: "Il se trouva sans doute quelqu'un pour aviser M. Cavelier de ces beaux projets." He conveniently forgets, it seems, that two months before at the Arkansas when information of the plan was unknown to Cavelier, Cavelier had resolved not to reveal his brother's death *à qui que ce fust.*—J. D.

## THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION

The Ordinance of 1787 was a document of such far-reaching importance in the development of the Northwest and indirectly of regions further westward that a commission was appointed to plan a fitting celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its enactment. One feature of this observance has been the preparation and distribution by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission of a pamphlet entitled *History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory,* in which have been summarized in readable form the best authenticated facts relating to the formation of the Ordinance and to the early settlements made in the vast territory bounded by the Ohio River, the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and the western frontier of the Thirteen Colonies. The state historians of the states now comprised in the region have co-operated with members of the commission and with Dr. Milo M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit, to produce the little book of 95 pages, interesting to grade and

high-school children as well as to their elders. To stimulate the interest of the children, contests, open between October 15, 1937, and February 15, 1938, were offered, contestants to submit drawings or essays. The illustrations scattered through the pamphet are mostly reproductions of the drawings deemed most suitable; they show decided talent. Colleges and universities in the states lying in the old Northwest Territory have, moreover, offered scholarships amounting to $15,000, open to all regularly entered undergraduates. The pamphlet, together with a colored historical map and a bibliography of source material, has been distributed free to teachers within the territory and may be bought for a nominal sum of ten cents from the Commission at Marietta, Ohio.—W. S. M.

## CONCERNING ARCHIVES

The third annual *Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1936-1937* has within its pages very enlightening and important information. R. D. W. Connor, Archivist, explains what materials the National Archives are designed to house and what documents are not to be conserved in the spacious repository. His article is amplified by an appendix which is a "Guide to the Materials in the National Archives, June 30, 1937," that is, at the end of the past fiscal year. The entries are classified under five headings: the records of the Congress, those of the executive departments, those of the independent agencies beginning with the collection on the Washington National Monument Society and continuing in the chronological order of establishment down to the Social Securities Board, those of the judiciary, and finally those of a private gift nature, such as motion picture films and sound recordings.

Out west, the Society of American Archivists met in a joint session with the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at the University of Washington, Seattle, on December 30, 1937. Four papers pertaining to archive content and preservation were read and are now published in *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (January, 1938). These are: "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," by Robert C. Clark, "British Columbia Official Records: The Crown Colony Period," by W. Kaye Lamb, "The Administration of State Archives," by Charles M. Gates, and "Preservation and Repair of Manuscripts in the Huntington Library," by L. Herman Smith. In the preceding number of the same quarterly, Herman J. Deutsch, State Director of the Historical Records Survey, published a "Survey of Spokane Church Archives." This lists the active and defunct churches of Spokane, and gives as did the earlier survey for Seattle a brief statement about the condition of each archive and the availability of materials therein.

Elsewhere, interest in archives has grown, and reports of progress in collection, preservation, and cataloguing of documentary materials are becoming more frequent. The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for November, 1937, carried a "Survey of Manuscripts in the British Isles," by Seymour de Ricci, while *Studies* published an account of "The Work of the Irish Manuscript Commission," by R. Dudley Edwards, in its September, 1937, number. Last year Carlos E. Castañeda brought forth as the first volume of a series, *A Report of the Spanish Archives in San Antonio, Texas*. The quarterly of the Minnesota Historical Society of Saint Paul, *Minnesota History*, printed three articles in the course of 1937 on

source materials for the history of the Northwest: "Swedish Immigration Material," by George M. Stephenson, "Minnesota Farmers' Diaries," by Rodney C. Loehr, and "Agricultural Periodicals," by Everett E. Edwards.

Mention should be made of the recent appointment of Gustave Lanctot to the position of archivist of the Dominion of Canada.

A very great loss to historical research came with the death of John Franklin Jameson. An excellent account of his great services to American scholars and scholarship appears in *The American Historical Review* for January, 1938.

Announcement has been made of the forthcoming first number of *The Journal of Documentary Publication*, a quarterly review of the application of photography and allied techniques to library, museum, and archival service. Its editorial policy will be in capable hands—a board of editors headed by Dr. Vernon D. Tate of the National Archives as managing editor, and Dr. Charles E. Rush of the Yale University Library as chairman.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The present generation may rejoice in the presence of numerous bibliographies on historical subjects, arranged in neat order for the benefit of students in colleges, research workers, and even for more popular purposes. Historical magazines are contributing no small amount of information on current publications, but the selection of items pertinent to the specific field covered by national and local journals is becoming increasingly difficult for the respective editors of magazines. An inevitable overlapping takes place, and is perhaps necessary in this age of digests. Not everybody is interested in every magazine, yet many in the body professorial wish convenient summaries of what is transpiring in the historical field. *The American Historical Review* regularly publishes lists of articles after the notices of recent publications and thus offers a great service to historians in particular or general work. *The Hispanic-American Historical Review* has been for years past outstanding as a guide to scholars, and *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* is attempting to favor the students of the history of the central portion of the land with a similar service. Local and state journals also make bibliographical contributions. *The Catholic Historical Review* prints its list of periodical literature under four headings—miscellaneous, European, the British Empire, United States. In the October, 1937, number, Father Joseph B. Code gave "A Selected Bibliography of Religious Orders and Congregations of Women Founded within the Present Limits of the United States." As a help to those wanting to know the contents of Catholic periodicals, Walter Romig and Company of Detroit began publication of an index, *The Catholic Bookman*, which appears monthly.

Recently other helps have been produced. Winifred Gregory has edited *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937). This is the completion of a great task of compiling a list of newspapers by states and Canadian provinces, and cities, and is the third of the great guides to library collections; the others are the *Union List of Serials* and the *Serial Publications of Foreign Governments*. Volume IX (1934) of *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* appeared in 1936. Dr. Lewis Hanke of Harvard is keeping abreast of the output on Hispanic America with his edition of the

*Handbook of Latin American Studies,* an annual guide to the materials being published on anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, and literature, prepared by a number of scholars in each field. The Bibliographical Society of America has the good intention of preventing unnecessary labor on the part of researchers, which might result from bibliographical compilers running wild. It is asking that all who have lists in progress or who are planning a bibliography in some special line, report their plans for publication in its News Sheet. In this manner duplication may be avoided. This idea corresponds with what is being done to prevent duplication of research projects by different students in separated parts of the country. Another work of the type, valuable in more ways than one, is being edited by Donald B. Gilchrist under the title *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities.*

Henry Putney Beers has been amassing for some time items which have gone into his guide to materials for research. His volume is now published under the title *Bibliographies in American History* (New York, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1938). In this compilation there are exactly 300 pages, each containing a number of bibliographies; the total number of items listed in double columns is 7,692; a suitable index of thirty-nine pages rounds out the work. Lists are arranged in fourteen chapters, beginning with general aids and ending with a state by state guide. The intervening chapters follow the anticipated form, namely, colonial period, revolution, confederation, the United States, diplomatic history, economic history, education, and so forth. Even though there are some omissions, and even though there is a lack of criticism of deficiencies in articles and works listed, great credit is due the compiler for his industry in gathering materials into a convenient handbook.

A very notable piece of scholarship has been done on the celebrated Jesuit Relations. It appears now as *Jesuit Relations of Canada: A Bibliography,* by James C. McCoy (Paris, 1937, 225 francs). Mr. McCoy, a collector and student of the documents, had assiduously and at great expense gathered all available bibliographical items pertaining to the 132 editions and distinct variants of the Relations, and had summarized the work done in this regard by scholars for the past century. Just at the time he had completed his manuscript in 1934, Mr. McCoy died. Lawrence C. Wroth, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, took care of the work, and writes an excellent introduction to the book. A number of title pages of single relations are reproduced, and toward the end of the volume a synoptic table is found, showing the place and date of each publication, the edition variant, and variations of each of the relations.

## INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, Chicago, has recently issued the first of its publications. The work is a series of studies from documents, entitled *Some La Salle Journeys,* by Jean Delanglez, S. J. This is to be followed by the publication of *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* which is now in press. The complete French text of the journal is to be printed side by side with an English translation by Father Delanglez. The two works are part of a new appraisal of the early history of the Middle West. The findings of the author are new and in fields generally considered closed. The first volume considers the journeys La Salle reputedly made to

the Ohio and Mississippi and his expedition to Matagorda Bay, thus covering the first and last phases of his activities in North America. The second is a critical edition of the complete journal of La Salle's brother Jean. The scholarship exhibited in both cases is outstanding.

## VARIOUS BOOKS

A work on the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley in prehistoric times is in process under the direction of the archaeologists of the University of Chicago. The first of a series of books on this general field appeared in 1937, entitled *Rediscovering Illinois: Archaeological Explorations In and Around Fulton County,* by Fay-Cooper Cole (University of Chicago Press, Chicago). Newspaper releases have already described some of the findings for non-technical readers, and, following this sane lead, the author introduces and concludes his work in a manner intelligible to the average student.

Those who are interested in our Government's treatment of the Indians of the West in its less just aspects and who wish a good account of Indian ways and customs, will be satisfied with the book *Chief Joseph: The Biography of a Great Indian,* by Chester A. Fee (New York, 1936). This is the story, told without scholarly documentation, of the great Nez Percés chieftain. *The Coming of Empire, or, Two Thousand Miles in Texas on Horseback,* by Colonel Nathaniel A. Taylor, was a famed journalistic writing in the Seventies of the last century, telling of Indians, cowboys, desperadoes, and a land of struggle; it was published again in 1936. Some good stories were revived in *Their Weight in Wildcats: Tales of the Frontier,* by James Daugherty (Boston, 1936). Old favorites like Johnny Appleseed, Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, and Davy Crockett come back to life.

## ON HISPANIC AMERICA

As a continuation of his *Colonial Hispanic America,* Dr. Charles E. Chapman wrote another textbook, *Republican Hispanic America: A History* (Macmillan, 1937). The first ten chapters, written in his usual facile and clever style, appear to be general, a prelude as it were to the second and larger portion of the book devoted to a National Histories Appendix. But the chapters are packed with information, even though it is administered amiably. The author is extremely brief in his exposition of events easily found in other texts, and rather inclines to amplify less familiar affairs. His essay on authorities directs students to copious reading material. One such amplification is A Curtis Wilgus' edition of *Argentina, Brazil and Chile Since Independence,* in which the history of the first is by J. Fred Rippy, the second by Percy Martin, and the third by Isaac J. Cox. Unfortunately for students, the edition of this excellent work is exhausted and out of print. The section in it written by Dr. Rippy is to our way of thinking far superior and of much more value than the nationalist *A History of Argentina,* by Ricardo Levene. Translated and edited by William Spence Robertson, upon whose work no criticism is intended, this latter is one of the Inter-American Historical Series in process of publication at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The idea in printing these works is to give United Statesans the histories of various republics as individual nationals write it; fair enough, it appears, but as far as the ideological interpretations are con-

cerned, bordering on the ephemeral, for who knows what the next national writer will conceive the history of his land to be?

David R. Moore attempts "to outline conditions in Latin America as they are now," in his recent text *A History of Latin America* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938). Little of the philosophy found notably in Chapman's work, mentioned above, comes into the work; the style is satisfactory, probably more satisfactory for the average freshman or sophomore in college. Still another work comes to hand, *The Republics of South America,* a report by a study group of members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (New York, London, Toronto, 1937). Time has been lacking for a detailed study of this work, which has been heralded widely. There is a certain curiosity about the price, which is considerably higher in this country than it is in England. This book along with the very readable *Dom Pedro II, the Magnanimous,* by Mary W. Williams may be reviewed in a future number.

# Book Reviews

*Financial Development of the United States.* By W. J. Schultz and M. R. Caine. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. 757. $3.75.

When the English Banking Act of 1844 was passed Parliament did not foresee the dominant part bank money or checks would play in the monetary system of the kingdom. Silver and gold, real money, had been paid the builders of England's cathedrals, universities, and palaces; silver and gold had been stored in the chests of the aristocracy and tradesmen; real money had been paid the laborer, and with real money his debts and the debts of the king were paid. By the middle of the nineteenth century England had become the greatest industrial country on earth and the richest in all history. The foundations of her vast structure had been cemented with silver and gold.

The astonishing industrial, commercial, and cultural development of our country did not begin until near the end of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century finished products of this country were sold in the markets of all lands, and at the end of the War the United States was the creditor nation of the world. This country had more monetary gold than any other country, but the enormous amount of gold was insignificant in comparison with the enormous amount of purchasing power the nation spent and loaned during the War. It was insignificant, too, in comparison with the sums spent on government works, churches, asylums, hospitals, colleges, and other private enterprises from the beginning of the century to the beginning of the War. The development and expansion of the limited resources of nature, so that they might to some satisfying extent keep pace with unlimited economic wants, were not paid for with silver and gold but with bank money or checks. The history of the financial, industrial, and cultural development of the United States is largely a history of credit expansion.

There is no need for the authors of this book to direct attention to their extension of the meaning of public finance so as to include the mechanism of exchange. The old definition is too narrow and should be rejected without remark. Our whole social system is founded on a monetary basis, and the center stone of that base is the bank. The history of banking is really the history of the financial development of the United States. The authors trace the history of banking sympathetically, and, for textbook purposes, adequately. The American banking system is similar to the English and Commonwealth systems. Fundamentally it is the same system. The English and Canadian banks weathered the fierce storms of the years of depression. Not one English or Canadian bank failed. Why, then, were there so many bank failures in this country between 1920 and 1933? Obviously, first because there were too many banks, and second, because the banks were not managed as they were in England and Canada.

In finance, management is of supreme importance. And generally the financial development of the United States has been well managed. Alexander Hamilton set the pace. Nicholas Biddle, when he was not harassed

by politicians, was a great and successful financier. The authors properly describe in greater detail than what might be expected in a book of this character, the financial career of J. Pierpont Morgan. Morgan stands out as one of the great organizing financiers of the world. Some of his methods may be considered ruthless, but ruthlessness was an almost necessary characteristic of the capitalistic promoter. The United States Steel Corporation is an enduring monument to his extraordinary financial abilities. An the great corporation is also one of the most important factors in the industrial development of the country.

But although in general the financial development of the country has been well managed there has been room for improvement in the management of banks. The banking laws of 1935 and following years have already done much to improve the methods of banking. Many believe the Government has gone too far in bank control and bank supervision, but all admit that more rigid bank inspection was necessary. The authors bring this out clearly, and their description of bank conditions during the years preceding and following the collapse in 1929 is fair and convincing. The work of compiling a history of the financial development of the United States, and, indeed, of any great nation, is most laborious. An enormous amount of statistical information must be accumulated, sifted and presented in an intelligible form. The authors have done their work well. The book gives a better picture of the actual development of the country from the financial point of view than most financial histories. The human elements are made as prominent as the monetary elements. The periods of financial development are clearly distinguished. The book is well adapted for classroom purposes and may be recommended to instructors as a work that will lighten their labors in a most difficult field.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

Loyola University

*Oliver Pollock: Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot.* By James Alton James. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. xiii+376. $4.

"From the opening of the Revolution, my soul panted for the success of the American arms, nor could I omit any opportunity of manifesting the sincerity and ardor of those feelings, when it was in my power to be useful either to the public interest or to any individuals who had embarked their fortunes and their lives in an enterprise so hazardous and so glorious." These words of Pollock are the first lines of the opening chapter of this book, and we find near the conclusion of the last chapter: "But his life must be recalled as that of a patriot whose eagerness to serve and willingness to sacrifice for his country have not been surpassed in our history." What falls between bears out those statements, as well as that of the blurb, which declares: "Pollock provided the financial support for George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Northwest for the United States, and in so doing made the greatest money contribution of any individual to the Revolutionary cause."

No man is better equipped for writing on Revolutionary times in the West than Dr. James, whose admirable *Life of George Rogers Clark* has won so much well-merited commendation. The great body of the present

work is devoted to those times, though Pollock is skillfully kept in the foreground at every shifting of the scene. The author has for years past devoted himself to his chosen field and has gleaned every available documentary item pertaining to his present subject. Much of the background had already been prepared by his personal research and contributions in article and book form. Suffice it then to say of the author that his latest production yields no whit in its many excellences to his earlier work.

Outside of documentary accounts, a Protestant minister, Reverend Horace G. Hayden, in the *Magazine of American History* and in a biographical sketch written in 1883, was the first writer to call attention to the extraordinary part played by the Catholic patriot in winning American freedom. After his days, articles touching on Pollock's enterprise have appeared from time to time in newspapers and historical reviews, especially those of Dr. James and Bodley Temple in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and Joseph J. Thompson and Margaret B. Downing in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. In 1937, shortly after the appearance of Dr. James' book, William F. Mullaney, O. M. I., published his master's dissertation in *Historical Records and Studies (XXVIII)* under the title "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financeer of the American Revolution," a work of seventy-two pages. Both these recent authors are justified in their respective choices of title. It is no reflection on either of these patient searchers that there are not a few, even important items regarding their subject still unknown. Both take it for granted that Pollock was a convert to Catholicity, but there is little else known of his Catholic life. His first wife was Protestant, though her family name was O'Brien. The old Scottish clan of Pollock kept the faith of its fathers down to the fall of the Stuarts, at least, at which time the branch that had gone to Ireland turned Protestant and changed the name to Polk. The question arises as to whether the Pollocks, as distinct from the Polks, were not Catholics when they arrived in America. Later, the families of Oliver's brothers in Pennsylvania were Protestant. Pollock spent the last years of his life in Pinckneyville, Mississippi, and of this long period the historians have no word to tell us, except that he died there on December 17 or 18, 1823. "Careful search," writes Dr. James, "has not revealed the exact place of his burial."

LAWRENCE J. KENNY

St. Louis University

*Tales from the French Folk-lore of Missouri.* By J. M. Carrière. Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern University Studies in Humanities No. 1, 1937. Pp. viii+354. $4.

The object in collecting these stories was to save from oblivion the folklore tales of the creoles of Missouri, and to use them as a basis for a further study of comparative folklore. The tales, seventy-three in number, are printed in French as they were told to the author by two *conteurs* of Old Mines, Missouri. In the district of St. Genevieve, there are about six hundred French families, the descendants of the pioneers who settled at the end of the seventeenth century on the east bank of the Mississippi, at Kaskaskias, Prairie du Rocher, Fort de Chartres. This ethnic group remained isolated, and acquired and retained the provincialism which is the result of such isolation. But, notes the author in the introduction, great

transformations have taken place during the last ten or fifteen years, owing to the automobile, the radio, and the moving pictures. American ways are undermining more and more the old French background, especially with the younger people; French language and traditions are rapidly passing. Besides these external causes, the decline of the Missouri French is to be attributed to its limitations and to the cultural level of those who speak it, and the lack of French schooling of any sort. The decay could perhaps have been retarded if the custom of preaching in French in the Church had not been discontinued about forty years ago. An audience in the vicinity of Lafayette, Louisiana, some years ago, reacted in a similar way to the present reviewer's address, as the congregation of Old Mines reacted to the sermon of Father Van Tourenhout, and for the same reason as that given by Dr. Carrière.

Dr. Carrière found as informants two *conteurs* whose memory are typical of such narrators. They were able to repeat a folk tale using the same words, the same pauses, and intonation as they had previously employed. This phenomenon, constantly observed where tradition from mouth to mouth is the medium of transmission of the events of the past, is one of the reasons for accepting as trustworthy evidence, at least the substance of the contents of a certain class of folk tales and legends. With regard to the time when the pioneers crossed the Mississippi to found a permanent settlement on the west bank of the river, the author gives the date as 1735. This date is commonly accepted, although it rests on very flimsy documentary evidence and is contradicted by other evidence, which sets the date nearly fifteen years later. The detail, however, changes in no wise the obvious value of the book. The author promises a study based on these tales, which will, if we judge by this example of his industry, be of great use to others than folklorists, for the information supplied by such studies goes much deeper, and gives a better insight into the past than mere recorded history.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Loyola University

*The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America.* By Louise Callan. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1937. Pp. xvii+809. $5.

The best review of this book has been written by the critic most competent to write it. It is largely a story of the Frontier, and more specifically of religion on the Frontier. In this field no Catholic pen, nor any other pen for that matter, has done work of more consistently high calibre than that of Gilbert J. Garraghan, the announcement of whose three volumes on the Jesuits in the Middle United States was recently made. The book under review is similar to Father Garraghan's work, though somewhat less ambitious in scope. It was fitting, therefore, that he should write its Introduction. If the reader had his comments before him, there would be no need for this review.

"All the constituents of history writing at its best," writes Father Garraghan, "are here put to account: wide research, accurate documentation, reasoned interpretation, agreeable presentation." He calls Macaulay to witness that the Church of Rome has a place in her system for women who consecrate their lives to the service of Christ and the care of souls.

He concludes with the remark, significant and authoritative in the context, that: "Any future general history of education in the United States or Canada making claim to adequacy of treatment must put to account the fund of educational data set out in this volume at once with scholarly precision and literary excellence of presentation."

But if the book is a contribution to the history of education, this is only a part of its story. A remarkable group of women, captained by a remarkable saint whose qualities of heart, mind, and will have left an enduring impress on their Society, rose out of the débris, material and moral, left by the French Revolution to devote themselves to the revival of religion in France. In 1818 one of this group, Rose Philippine Duchesne, whose heroicity in virtue has already received the official stamp of Rome, led their first mission band to the banks of the Mississippi. There, at the gateway of the western plains, they shared the hardships and the exalted enthusiasm of the dynamic, crude, and raucous Frontier. Their early foundations were retarded, and ennobled, by debt, privation, and suffering. But they possessed a calm courage, constancy, and cheerfulness, which drew inspiration and strength from an inner source. To allude to their devotion to the Heart of Christ is no mere pious reflection. In fact, the omission of this essential feature would be decidedly unhistorical.

From St. Louis the Society spread north, south, east, and west, to either coast, to Canada, Mexico, the Antilles and, eventually to Tokio. But running through the whole vivid and dramatic narrative there is an important historical fact which is nowhere explicitly stated. It is the dependence of the infant and adolescent Church in America upon the mission spirit of Europe and particularly France. The men and women who labored to Christianize and refine our advancing civilization were recruited largely in Europe. The material means indispensable to their successful apostolate, and to their existence itself, came from the uncalculating charity of the distant homeland. Need we pause to reassess the overstressed economic interpretations of Frontier life?

Mother Callan's book will be read with a justifiable pride in the closed circle of the Sacred Heart Alumnae, where it will be regarded as a family history. But it should have a much wider appeal. To the complete outsider it will be a wholesome revelation. It is, however, among the friendly rivals who are engaged in similar work, but with a slightly different background, that it should be most welcome. It may serve as a model and an inspiration to others who have the ability and the opportunity to produce the monographs we need if a definitive history of the Catholic Church in America is ever to be written. The publisher, incidentally, is to be complimented on a volume that is worth its price.

R. CORRIGAN

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*The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806.* By John Bartlet Brebner. New York, Macmillan, 1937. Pp. xvi+502, with maps. $4.

Professor Brebner has made this volume a truly great book. He has followed the classic statement of Macaulay on the writing of history, as a combination of poetry and philosophy, an amalgam most difficult to reach in our modern, scientifically-minded world. His fine use of language, his

kindly yet penetrating eye for truth, his thorough knowledge of the factual elements and evidence: all these are built into the structural unity of an artistic whole such as few writers attain.

The subject matter has long been known in the various narratives left by the pioneers of exploration in North America. Discoverers and conquerors, traders, statesmen, and missionaries, all took part in the grand romance of finding and opening up this continent. Historians have edited their journals, built texts on their story, taught collegians and directed graduates along the rich lines of research in their adventures and accomplishments. Meantime everyone awaited the artist who would finally weave this narrative into an enduring piece of literature, somewhat as Parkman did for segments of that long epic of the founders of America.

Pages might well be written on the book in hand, but this reviewer feels that he will best fulfill his task by inviting the reader to his own personal search and joy in absorbing the fine narrative of Brebner. The tour will take him through a wonderful epoch, the march of heroic men over all the virgin American world. The guide is highly qualified and gifted with the rare power of story turned in abiding literature. The printer offers attractive format in excellent binding. Men who appreciate the art of writing humane history will long praise this permanent member in our society of great books.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

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*Victoria's Guardian Angel: A Study of Baron Stockmar.* By Pierre Crabitès. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938. Pp. ix+289. $3.

The literature on Victoria and her era has developed tremendously since Strachey's biography, and the controversial nature of the present volume foreshadows continued interpretations of the "great queen." The "Guardian Angel" of the early Victorian era was the German nobleman doctor, Baron Christian Friedrich Stockmar. This man of mystery at Windsor has been familiar to students of Victoria, but nationalistic censorship concerning the queen's early years of feminine frivolity and capriciousness has minimized the general knowledge of this prime molder of royal character. Judge Crabitès, who has recently written on Egypt, Czechoslovakia, Henry VIII's divorce, and Spain, seeks herein to rehabilitate the prestige and influence of "Stocky" as the determining spirit of Victorianism.

Stockmar first appeared in England as the friend and personal physician of the Coburg Leopold, husband of Princess Charlotte and later King of the Belgians. Thus the German doctor became the confidant and adviser of Leopold's favorite niece, the queen. Until his death, thirty years later, the alien stood behind Victoria entering into the major decisions at Court. Impeccably honest, disinterested of fame or personal honor, familiarly acquainted with the leading politicians of the day, the baron had his prestige mightily increased by paternalism toward the royal consort, Albert, in whose selection the doctor enjoyed a predominant, as well as an official, rôle. Albert's influence on Victoria is general knowledge, but Stockmar's advisement of Albert is not as universally recognized. The author contends that the most vital accomplishment of Victoria's "Guardian Angel" was the salvation, at a critical period, of the English monarchy, which had suffered

a definite moral degradation. Insisting ". . . that the English machine works smoothly and well only when the Sovereign is upright and truthful and that when he has been insincere, mendacious and wicked, it has creaked and fouled and jolted to within an ace of coming to a deadlock . . .," Stockmar's advice caused Victoria personally to reform and to establish a moral tone within the court life which the nation might imitate. This royal and official adherence to a narrow morality, which we moderns characterize as "Victorianism," saved the monarchy for England, and the recent abdication of an English king is thereby traceable to the baron's influence. The educational program devised for the Prince of Wales, Edward, was the other pre-eminent accomplishment of the "Angel."

The author's contention regarding Stockmar's importance runs contrary to Benson's emphasis upon Victoria's ability of independent decision. Developed mainly from the autobiographical *Denkwürdigkeiten,* the work is supplemented by references to contemporary letters and diaries, and to the better biographies of the leading personalities. It might be maintained that the text consists of too many and too lengthy quotations, nevertheless, the entire work is characterized by readability, simplicity, and general accuracy. Although a volume to be considered by students of Victoria, the study is not a valid discussion of the Victorian Era. It is primarily concerned with the Court, its intrigues and personages. The reader looks in vain for any reference to, or council on, the greater movements: capitalism, industrial change and conflict, chartism, labor reform, free trade. Finally this work, by emphasizing one adviser's contributions, unduly minimizes the other numerous influences surrounding Victoria.

EDWARD P. LILLY

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*The History of [Lower] California.* By Don Francisco Javier Clavijero, S. J. Translated and edited by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray. Stanford University Press, California. 1938. Pp. xxvii+413. $4.

In supplying the students and interested public of the United States and Great Britain with this English translation of a rare work on one phase of the achievement of Catholic missionaries of Spanish America the authors have rendered a distinct service. With the possible exception of the larger and earlier publication of Miguel Venegas, Clavijero's volume is the most useful single work on the history of Lower California that appeared before the present century. Although it deals with a comparatively unimportant section of Spain's vast American empire, for the careful and judicious reader it will shed much light on the whole theme of the mission's place in the Spanish colonial system as well as on the mind and spirit of the religious workers on every frontier.

Great as has been their service to scholarship in the English-speaking world, the translators have fallen short of the best standards in editorial achievement. In the opinion of the reviewer, their introduction should have presented three things: (1) a concise and accurate sketch of Lower California under the Jesuits, (2) a similar sketch of the life of Clavijero, and (3) a careful description of the bibliography of this Jesuit period of Baja

California history. Of these three, only the first and second were attempted, and these were presented imperfectly.

Among the several errors in their introduction, the following may be noted in this review. Father Nobrega of Brazilian fame appears as Father Nombreza; Father Azevado and his followers were not killed by the Brazilian Indians, for they never reached Brazil, and they died in 1570 instead of 1579; the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil in 1759, not in 1768; and the members of the Company reached Mexico first in 1572 instead of 1571. It should also be added that the account of the studies and teaching of Clavijero is rather confused.

The volume contains two useful maps, one taken from Clavijero's history and the other drawn presumably by the translators. The use of both the grave and the acute accent in this edition leaves the reader somewhat puzzled. Some explanation of this usage should have been given in the preface or in a footnote.

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